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THE PHYSICAL EDUCATOR AND THE STRUCTURING OF HIS
PROFESSIONAL WORLD: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT

by



DAVID P. JOHNS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1979

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE PHYSICAL EDUCATOR AND THE STRUCTURING OF HIS PROFESSIONAL WORLD: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT submitted by DAVID P. JOHNS in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

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ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate and describe the role of the physical education teacher and the subject area in the social context of the modern senior high school. More specifically, the objective of the study was to rely on an ethnographic approach to gather qualitative data which could be analyzed to address such issues as the role of teacher and subject area in relation to the institutional ethos of the school. In addition, an investigation was made to describe ways in which physical education teachers structure their social reality and employ a system of beliefs in order to function appropriately and efficiently. Finally, the study attempted to show ways in which physical education teachers experienced their subject. Being confronted with a somewhat unique set of organizational problems they were thus encouraged to define the situations clearly in order to maintain control, legitimization and recognition.

The method of gathering qualitative data was that adopted by participant observers, which yielded a considerable amount of illustrative empirical material in the form of interviews, observations and personal comments. The employment of categories to formulate sociological concepts contributed to the purposeful gathering of data in order to develop a number of propositional statements.

These statements served to formulate a summary of the interrelated variables which the data uncovered. They also may be construed as generating more questions than they answer, which is presumably the purpose of ethnographic work. My position as researcher then, was more to explore rather than verify the substantive issues of physical education in modern high schools.

In order to carry out the exploration, an interpretive paradigm, was used. The above mentioned substantive issues were examined from the humanistic perspective which views man as a spontaneous and creative individual. The study attempts to reaffirm that human action is significant and that the school consists of social structural formations which are the result of creative individual human endeavour. Such efforts are shown to be the attempts to construct and reconstruct the social world of those who occupy roles within the school through interpretation and negotiation.

Finally, the study concludes that conflict exists between the individuals in their efforts to seek control over their occupation of roles, and the construction of their social world.

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I would also like to thank my external examiner Dr. Wendy Jerome for her insightful contribution during the final preparatory stages of the dissertation.

Unfortunately in a study of this nature the true identity of my subjects cannot be released. However, to Jim Freeman and the staff at St. Ignatius Composite High School go my deepest appreciation for the freedom they so openly provided.

Many invaluable contributions were made by fellow students Ann Jones, Monika Zechetmayr and Andre Dorion through the 1978/79 "season" of Sport and Physical Education Seminars. Special mention also goes to Max Innes for his inspirational suggestions.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

There are numerous departments, schools and faculties of physical education included in universities across Canada. Not all university campuses possess the facility or the personnel to fulfill the requirements of maintaining a "fully functioning physical education programme." For those who do, many of them commenced with, and are continuing to be responsible for the development of the physical education teacher. These responsibilities include the development of personal teaching, performance and organization skills, in addition to the creation of expectations of the potential role of the physical educator as he enters the school system. The high school student, as a prospective university physical education major, also brings with him a personal set of norms and values which either complement or conflict with those existing within the institution.

These norms and values are detectable through the physical education teacher's role as it is acted out in the social reality of the school. The resultant role, in most cases, is one which has been reinforced, rejected or reformed, as the result of the experience of the physical education teacher training and his or her actual performance in the school. The role expectation, as a result of the university training experience, and the role that is

actually performed in the school, may be somewhat different.

The reasons for such discrepancies between what is expected and what is actually confronted in the school would seem to be of some interest to those responsible for the preparation of teachers in physical education. Educational researchers seem to have been unwilling to give the area specific attention perhaps because they have been reluctant to consider physical education as part of the curriculum. However, it may justify special attention for a number of reasons.

It would seem that physical education is one of the subjects in the school which students look forward to attending. The physical education teacher seems to be able to strike up a rapport with the students that is not afforded other staff members. His or her role in the school setting tends to be one to which students relate, yet the content of his subject is considered to be unrelated to future prospects or the job market. The relationship between physical education teachers and students has usually been taken for granted, or at best casually observed.

However, the concentration of educational research in the school system in general, or high school sport in particular has overlooked a systematic examination of physical education. Even specialists in physical education faculties have forsaken the topic of physical education for the current and presumably more prestigious topic of sport. Consequently, some substantial contributions have been made,

in establishing the relationship of sport to the various perspectives from which society may be viewed.

It would appear that a similar theoretical contribution to the body of knowledge concerning education, coaching and teaching could be made by looking specifically at the role of the physical education teacher. It would also seem logical to explore human actions in their social settings before constructing theories of social behaviour, based on propositions derived from qualitative data.

The arguments put forward here are concerns which hopefully express the need for a sociology of physical education within the sociology of education, rather than in the realm of the relatively new sport sociology. What is called for is a framework for:

The analysis of the knowledge which constitutes the life world of teachers and pupils in particular educational institutions, and epistemological traditions in which they collectively participate (Esland:1971:70).

The dominance of the structural-functionalist framework both in the sociology of sport and sociology of education coupled with hypothetical-deductive methodologies have tended to restrict the power of sociology to explain social action. This tendency has been strengthened by the view (and perpetuated by positivistic research) that man is merely a "passive occupant of roles in organizational structures" (Esland:1971:71).

It follows then that an interest in the analysis of the role of the physical education teacher may not advance the

4

body of knowledge significantly unless it is accompanied by a change in emphasis and a substantial increase in enthusiasm for the constructivist approach (Magoon:1977:652). Glaser and Strauss have called for an increase in the personal freedom of the researcher to construct and reconstruct substantive theoretical formulations as he proceeds with his data collection. This is needed in order to explore more fully the structuring of social life so as to contribute to "more inclusive formal theories" (1967:35). The arguments which have been briefly set out here arise not only from the lack of interest in the subject of physical education teaching by those closely related fields, but also from concern for existing methods that substantiate the present state of research in physical education. Perhaps Kuhn's "paradigmatic crisis" (Kuhn:1962) has arrived for the field of physical education as it has for its parent discipline, education. The theoretical perspective in this study has been developed from the warnings of such a crisis and attempts to adopt an alternative approach using an "interpretive paradigm" (Karabel and Halsey:1977:53).

The concern with the logico-empirical deduction has consistently ignored man's subjectivity and has supported a mechanistic interpretation of human behaviour. It would appear that a search for a new methodology would be a significant step especially in the social sciences. In particular such a methodology would possess a subjective

orientation which would consider man as "a free and creative constructor of his own projects" (Mead:1934), and would analyse the relationship between "the knowing subject and the object world around him" (Edie:1965). Little has been accomplished in describing or analyzing such relationships.

The Purpose of the Study

This study has taken the warnings of the paradigmatic crisis seriously and has shifted its emphasis towards a social phenomenologist's point of view in order to view the role of the physical education teacher in a present day high school. The study will adopt an ethnographic approach to gather qualitative data which will be utilized for the following purposes:

1. To investigate the role of the physical education teacher in a modern high school.
2. To describe and explain the relationship of that role to the institutional structures and ethos of the school.
3. To illucidate ways in which the physical education teacher constructs his reality in the high school setting.
4. To show ways in which the physical education teacher defines the various situations found in the school setting in order to maintain social control, legitimization and recognition.
5. To explore how and under what system of beliefs teachers function in their day-to-day occupation.

6. To investigate to what extent and how physical education is unique in the school setting.

The Need For the Study

As previously stated:

There are some good indications that educational research may have reached a crisis stage with regard to its major Fisherian experimental design tradition (Magoon:1977:653).

Physical education has followed this tradition (and indeed the bulk of research is steeped in the traditional physical science approach) hoping to find the scientific laws, that would, for all time, solve the substantive problems in the discipline.

The call for value-free research by Loy and Kenyon (1969) influenced a growing number of social scientists in physical education to employ experimental designs in the analysis of sport. Sport was shown to be an ideal laboratory for many ready-made test situations (Ball:1975). Generally the trend in sports sociology paralleled those trends found to be present in educational research by Magoon, who described them more as:

An experimental science in search of law . . . than an analysis leading to an interpretation in search of meaning (1975:654).

Sociology of sport and physical education has since deviated little from that pattern and the need for more qualitative research has increased with the growing body of literature. While the growth of knowledge in the sociology

of sport has been steady, few have attempted what this study has set out to do, namely, to use an ethnographic approach by utilizing the researcher's observations in the social world of the school to explore the role of physical education.

The emphasis on gathering qualitative data to be employed in the sociological analysis of the physical education teacher and his subject, attempts to offset the existing theoretical and methodological pre-occupations mentioned above. In addition the data will allow the researcher to concern himself with "the problem of subjective meaning as basic for the understanding of the social world" of the school (Sharp and Green:1975:3).

This orientation is drawn from the German Idealism developed in the work of Mead, Weber and Schutz in particular, but relies on the role of common sense in the construction of the social world. This role:

. . . implies that certain observation and analysis (1) must ascertain the system of relevancies that members use to define social settings, actions and talk; (2) should concern itself with what members take to be routine, obvious and uninteresting in order to examine the manner in which socially organized activities constitute such a state (Silverman:1972:8).

Furthermore, the social world, in contradistinction to the natural world, is a world constituted by meaning and is not to be examined in terms of a world constituted of intrinsically meaningless phenomena (Schutz:1962:5). One cannot, however, determine from the outside which social

facts and events are interpretationally relevant. Schutz suggested that we only see second-order constructs, "namely, constructs of constructs made by the actors on the social scene" (Schutz:1967:6). An attempt has been made in this study to initially examine the nature of the phenomena, and secondly, to select an appropriate methodology for the collection and analysis of the data gathered.

Not only does positivism fall short in the explanation of social behaviour in sport and physical education, it also can be criticized on other grounds briefly mentioned previously. The primary concern has been referred to in terms of a dehumanizing approach to enquiry into social behaviour. The structural-functionalist approach has tended to analyse structures and processes in sport and to predicate the findings on the assumptions that ongoing social equilibrium existed.

As many critics have pointed out, such an approach frequently operates with an over-integrated view of society unduly emphasizing those aspects which are deemed to be the functional requirements of the social system (Sharp and Green:1975:2).

This study supports the view that social science research should attempt to give "credence to the role of man as an active subject in the historical process" (Sharp and Green:1975:2). It allows for the concentration that man is an actor and is, in turn, acted upon by his significant others in the situations in which he finds himself.

In raising issues that attempt to demonstrate the inadequacy of a structural-functionalist's approach, it is

intended to show that a detailed case study or ethnographical analysis is needed. Furthermore, it must be considered that physical education professionals are particularly ambitious to create change in the social behaviour of those who participate in the active field of physical education. With such prevalent aims associated with this field in particular, the need for this research becomes increasingly clear, providing that it maintains the "sociologically significant characteristics" (Young:1971) as central to its inquiry. Young implies that in order to accomplish meaningful results from the case study approach, the researcher must take into account the historical and situationally specific character of both its phenomena and its explanations. It is the aim of this study to adhere to such basic principles. In so doing, this would fulfill, in some small measure, the need for such a study, emphasizing first, the subject area, and secondly, the methodology.

The Theoretical Framework

The basic approach of this study was to adopt an ethnographic method to gather qualitative data which would serve to illustrate emerging and formal substantive issues. In addition, the data and observations revealed reoccurring themes which contributed to the formulation of categories and eventual concepts as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

The ethnographic data also contributed to the

formulation of several propositions which fell under the general areas of teacher-student interaction, categories and concepts used by the teacher and the subject matter itself (Karabel and Halsey:1977:53).

The chapter headings in the study were based on the "interpretive paradigm" used by Sharp and Green (1975). They functioned to describe and systematically examine first, the role of the physical education teacher, second, the subject area as it related to the student and third, the institutional structure of the school.

Other sociological concepts were also adopted from the literature because they were found to be useful ways of examining the illustrative material. The "Goffman" approach of viewing the staff as actors in a drama, and the symbolic interactionist's concept of "defining the situation" (Waller:1932), blended well with the eclectic framework used to examine the data.

The selection of concepts from the literature emerged as a departure from the traditional ethnographic methods. The ethnographic data, as promised (Becker:1961), yielded a substantial amount of field notes (some 300 pages of typed interviews, observations and quotes), which were recorded in the participant observational tradition. The standard approach of the ethnographic method was viewed as useful only in as much as it provided the researcher with a valuable instrument with which to systematically record the observation of the normal functioning of the physical

education teacher.

At the stage when data was rapidly accumulating, a series of categories as formulated by Esland (1971), Sharp and Green (1975), Strauss et al. (1964) and Goffman (1959), were utilized. Some were discarded or temporarily put aside, while others were more carefully examined. Sufficient data either supported or refuted the categories which were formulated, and discussion headings eventually formed the bases for the eventual chapter headings.

The chapter headings attempted to address the three related problem areas already mentioned above. What is judged to be important, interesting and valuable to the understanding of the role of teacher and subject of physical education is listed in the following categories of knowledge.

Teachers' Ideologies and Perspectives.

These prominent theoretical concepts contributed to the discussion of how and under what system of beliefs teachers functioned in their day-to-day occupation of roles. Further to this, these concepts borrowed from Sharp and Green (1974) were invaluable in discovering and systematically describing how the performance of the teacher aligned with the school ethos, and integrated with the institutional social structures of the school.

Social Control, Legitimation and Recognition.

A second area emerged from the regular occurrence of ways in which the physical education teacher created new situations

and defined old ones. In doing so, it was apparent that such universal concern for the physical education teacher emerged. The desire to seek social control, legitimation and recognition reoccurred in the data and were substantiated and supported in the discussion, by the illustrative empirical materials.

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Utility of Subject Area.

Third, the role of physical education was discussed by using the criteria of "intrinsic and extrinsic utility" as suggested by Esland (1972). It was in this category that the researcher used a reactive approach of interviewing a variety of actors in the school setting to investigate their views of the contribution of physical education.

Expectancies.

Fourth, emerging very clearly from the ethnographic data was an issue which appeared somewhat unique to the physical education staff. The issue is addressed in this study as expectancy and relates particularly to the coaching of interscholastic activities. Because of its unique quality, any attempt to explain it found little support in the literature, however, similar situations can be identified in other occupations under the rubric of "professional obligations." The interesting concern which this study revealed was the inconsistency which existed in the treatment of physical education staff, compared with the rest of the teachers, by the administration.

Sponsorship and Status Cultures.

Finally, the data revealed numerous interrelated variables which suggested the consideration of such theoretical concepts as "sponsorship" and "status cultures." Although these were not afforded a chapter or section, they were considered as underlying theoretical concepts which usefully related the variables.

When the theoretical concepts were developed and substantiated by the empirical illustrative materials, the integration of these concepts was attempted in the form of a set of propositional statements.

The Interpretive Paradigm.

The data which accumulated over the nine months of the research period provided a substantial volume of supportive illustrative material for each category described above. Further to this an "interpretive paradigm" as mentioned above was adopted. The paradigm provided the opportunity to not only draw on the actors for a description of their roles but in addition, to contribute to the interpretation of those accounts. Also, this applied interpretive approach demonstrated that "everyday social interaction is a creative activity" (Cicourel:1974:348), which enables actors to make sense of their world.

The adoption and utilization of such a paradigm follows in the tradition of the British school of sociology of education. The "interpretive paradigm" as proposed by Young (1971) and Esland (1971) among others, contributed to the

departure of social inquiry from the traditional approaches of the structural-functionalist school. However, this was not the reason for its adoption in this study. Moreover, it should be emphasized that the interpretive approach was employed for its potential to analyze subjective empirical materials.

A review of the literature related to sport inquiry has revealed the collection of subjective data utilizing an ethnographic approach, but none have pursued the analysis of that data by using an "interpretive paradigm". This study has assumed the responsibility of first, gathering ethnographic data which is subjective and empirically illustrative. Second, through an "interpretive paradigm" it has generated a number of propositional statements explaining, to some extent, how physical education teachers structure their world.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE RELATING TO SPORT AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN NORTH AMERICAN SCHOOLING

It would seem that research related to the area of physical education is largely confined to hypothetical-deductive methods which rely heavily on the generation of quantitative data. In addition to this, research in physical education per se has generally lacked the application of any sociological theory.

It was therefore necessary to explore the sociology of education literature to gain a better insight into first, the use of various techniques of gathering data and second, new perspectives which are emerging. The latter seem to express a concern with the problem of subjective meaning as basic for an understanding of the social world in general, and the school in particular (Sharp and Green:1975:3).

The review of the literature will initially assess the relevance of the existing body of knowledge related to sport and schooling, particularly in North America.

Sociology of Sport

The stigma attached to physical education within the school atmosphere may not be as marked as it seems to be in the university setting. This may be due to the fact that physical education is a relative newcomer to the curriculum of the university (Cosentino and Howell:1971:45), and

therefore has had few avid proponents to justify its existence.

As in the institutions of higher learning, the high school curriculum falls into the hierarchical structure that is rigidly honoured and supported by assigned status. In addressing similar or related phenomena about the school curriculum many points have been raised which suggest reasons for stigma, stratification and status of various knowledge areas in academic curricula.

The characteristics of "high status knowledge" are literacy, or an emphasis on written as opposed to oral presentation . . . finally and linked to the former . . . unrelatedness of academic curricula, which refers to the extent to which they are at odds with daily life and common experiences (Young: 1971: 38).

One main problem for the discipline of physical education seems to centre on the ways academics think of physical education. Unfortunately, perhaps, the manifestations of physical education, such as the activity-filled gymnasias, the games and activity class settings, seem far removed from any academic or intellectual inquiry.

The maintenance of academic legitimacy has been of some concern for physical educationists who wish to enhance their image in the eyes of university government responsible for the acceptance of such areas of knowledge. The position has been more acute in the United Kingdom than in Canada, where academic legitimacy in the area of physical education has

been doubted until recently.¹ But it is clearly seen that the body of knowledge supporting physical education and sport has as much of a place in the university as other academic endeavours and that:

Academic curriculum and the forms of assessment associated with them are sociological inventions to be explored like mens other inventions (Young:1971:41).

Physical education as part of the preparatory process for the labour market

Physical education in North American schooling has been incorporated into the educational expansion that has been reported by Lockhart (1971), Harvey (1974) and many others. Both of the above mentioned writers have reported the increasing difficulty of placing graduates from all educational institutions, especially universities, in the labour market. Human Capital² is merely a myth (Lockhart:1971).

There is no specific reference to physical education in Human Capital Theory or Technological Functional Theory. However, Collins suggested through a Neo-Weberian theory

¹ It has only been in recent times that some of the major British teacher training colleges specializing in physical education have amalgamated with adjoining universities. Students may now obtain a Bachelor of Education degree with a physical education major. Other teacher training institutions have renamed the degrees offered to Bachelor of Human Movement, thus eliminating any stigma attached to the rubric physical education.

² Human Capital is a term associated with the notion that people acquire useful skills and knowledge which are a form of capital, and according to Schulz this "form of capital is, in substantial part, a product of deliberate investment" (1977:313).

that extra-curricular activities such as physical education could play a significant role in the status culture of the school (in Karabel and Halsey:1977:118). He sees the main activity of schools as one which teaches particular cultures in terms of individual behaviour in a group setting. Such cultural considerations as how to dress, and the development of values, manners and tastes are all carefully weighed by the students and reinforced by the teaching process. Teaching technical, academic and proficiency skills is reduced to a secondary concern (Johns:1978:5). Reinforcing the critical perspective more forcibly, Samuel Bowles sees early schooling as a socializing agent, and education as a process which, in time, replaced the family, church and community. Schools offered basic training "in the form of punctuality, acceptance of authority, discipline and individual accountability for work" (Bowles:1971:138) for the labour market of the early industrialists. Physical education can and will be seen to support this notion in this study.

In Canada the educational system has been criticised in terms of its willingness, not only to follow the "knowledge industry" of the United States (Lockhart:1971:232), but also to draw its character from the Canadian political economy. According to Rush "our educational system reinforces and perpetuates capitalist class structures and the ideologies which rationalize inequality" (1977:24). As our schools teach the ideology and expectations of an advanced consumer

society, they tend to forget that as producers we must still be considered "third world". In this study, physical education may be seen to reinforce such ideas along with other subject areas in school.

High School Sport

In an attempt to place education into some more meaningful context, it would seem necessary also to suggest how physical education programmes and team sports (played both interscholastically and intramurally) have impact on the functioning of the school, its students and the curriculum that it is attempting to offer. Furthermore, does the physical education teacher have a significant role to play in this function?

Sociologists have related many of their studies to the school environment, and have attempted to explain the behaviour of physical education teachers in terms of "responsibility" (Sage:1974:187). The results of such role acting are linked to and stress the importance of winning, which in turn, seems to be associated with the degree of institutionalization of athletic activity (Webb:1969). Webb's study suggests that as children grow older their play activities become more institutionalized. With the increase in complexity and rationality, the activities take on the basic characteristics of sport.

The significance of winning and the rationalization of sport to achieve this end can be extended to the larger

culture outside the school. A notable comment is Reisman and Denney's study of football in America (1951). In this work they examine the changes which reflect the needs of American spectators for constant action and visible excitement.

These studies suggest that sport and physical education, cannot exist in isolation from other parts of the society. It is necessary to keep this in mind, when analyzing the roles which the physical education teacher plays and those upon which he calls.

In some schools the physical education activities have become preparatory classes for interscholastic sports which are highly institutionalized. Education and physical education (taken to include athletics) tend to preserve, without reservation, the ideology of the society by loyalty, support and self-discipline - all the qualities which coincidentally are found in organized sports. U.S. College coaches have sworn by it and professional teams play by it. To rationalize their dictatorship, coaches maintain that their imposed discipline resists the radical political elements of society. In addition, the status quo of that society in part withstands attacks by the reinforcement of such subcultures as schools and school athletic involvement (Nixon:1977:15).

If the teacher accepts the status quo as it stands in the established society and regards any opposition to it as divisive and undermining, then athletes whom he disciplines and who conform to the sport also conform to society. One

reaction to the retirement of Dave Meggyesy from the "dehumanising discipline and regimented character" of professional football (in Edwards:1973:116) came from a high school principal:

Mr Meggyesy's ideas about running a team is a wonderful example of the revolutionaries attempt to break down the basic foundations upon which society is founded . . . Hard work, compromise and sacrifice . . . are fundamental to this society . . . in athletics but not the namby-pamby type of life Mr. Meggyesy sees for us all (in Edwards:1973:116).

The role that high school coaches play and the roles that are instilled into their players seem to reinforce "the established structure and dominant value orientations of American society as a whole" (Nixon:1977:15). If this is sufficient to reassure the student that his conformity will ensure him success in achieving and maintaining the status quo, James Coleman's early study (1961) may support another reason for students entering high school athletics.

Coleman suggested that the single most important criterion for achieving high school status would be demonstrated athletic prowess in the sports arena. Eitzen reproduced the study in 1973 in order to detect changes that may have occurred as a result of the increasing unrest and the questioning of authority in recent years. His findings continue to support those of Coleman, although there are signs that the status of the athlete may have in fact waned within schools of larger populations and where permissiveness is on the increase (Yiannakis et al.:1976:116).

In the 1961 study Coleman argued that, although sports participation may improve status in the school culture, it also diverted the student's attention from academic endeavour. High school students preferred sports to scholarship, and being an athlete was more important than being a scholar. Immediate cultural success seems to have been more important than latent rewards after college or university graduation.

Friesen using a large sample of 15,000 Canadian students however, did not agree with Coleman's American study when he examined similar values in a series of projects in (1966), (1967), and (1968). In general Canadian students were prepared to defer their gratification until an enduring basis for status had been secured.

The upward mobility of athletes was questioned by Weinberg and Arond, who argued that once sports careers had ended, athletes did not enjoy upward mobility unless they were equipped with skills, values and attitudes necessary for occupational success (1952). Positive relationships however, have been suggested between athletic participation and educational planning after high school graduation. Behberg and Schafer (1968), and a replication study by Spreitzer and Pugh (1973), both supported this relationship, but failed to explain relationships between educational ambition, parental encouragement, socioeconomic status, intelligence or student grade average.

Reinforcing the apparent success of the school athlete

in achieving a high status is the discovery by Spreitzer and Fugh (1973), that school status culture and perceived peer status were important factors which can be seen as mediators between athletic participation and educational expectations. Spady's study (1970) suggested that sports participation produces a perceived high peer status, which creates a desire for further recognition through college entry. This inflationary attitude, unfortunately, is not always accompanied by skills required for entry into college or university.

Recognizing some of the demands on both athlete and scholar - such as hard work, personal organization of time and effort, the desire and commitment to succeed, scholars have turned their attention to participation and those other characteristics needed for success. Studies related to participation and socialization have been completed, but without specific conclusions. The efforts of Helanko as far back as 1957 and the mass of research by Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962), together with the more recent works of Kenyon (1968), Snyder (1970), Loy and Ingham (1973), Sage (1974), Martens (1975), and Schafer (1976), have created a base for a debate on sport in the form of socialization and internalization of the active individuals. However, Coakley cites the conclusions of Rushall who states:

After all the years of research no clear findings are available. Physical education and sports personality researchers are not yet off the ground (Coakley:1978:131).

Furthermore, Coakley interprets Martens (1975) as suggesting that his colleagues:

Have been so anxious to find relationships between participation and performance in sport and various personality factors that they have overlooked the requirement of good research design (Coakley:1978:131).

Cultural and Sociological Differences in High School Sport

Unfortunately most of these studies have taken place in the U.S. high school system, and although on the surface, it would appear that the Canadian and United States interscholastic programmes are similar, there are considerable differences. Jerome and Philips have considered some of these differences in their 1971 comparison of Canadian and American high school sport.

Their findings support the view that Canadian high school students prefer to aspire to be "athletic scholars" rather than "pure athletes or pure scholars". Zentner and Farr's (1968) study suggested that students valued academic achievement as a positive factor in student status in Calgary schools.

Student hockey players in Ontario schools, at the commencement of their high school career, were found to have similar marks, and slightly lower achievement and aptitude tests, than those students who did not play organized hockey (King and Angi:1968). It must be remembered in this particular study that hockey was an out-of-school activity, and as such had little bearing on the school. Neither were the games or practices arranged to align with educational

goals. Consequently when the study was conducted on grade XII in highly organized Junior A, B, C and D hockey programmes, King and Angi found hockey player students to score lower marks, and lower scores in achievement and aptitude. In addition they tended to lower their vocational goals and their academic ambitions. However, the fact that the sports took place outside the school culture and in a Canadian milieu is significant when contrasting these findings with the American high school athletes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that although American studies pose interesting questions for Canadian physical educators, it does not necessarily follow that Canadian problems are of the same type and magnitude.

A question which has been raised by critical and Marxist theorists on both sides of the border and on both sides of the Atlantic, has been the issue of stratification in education. Foremost and current has been the Marxist orientation forwarded by Bowles and Gintis in "Schooling In North America" (1976). The book reports their research into the role of education as ideology, and as a system of social control to maintain capitalist class dominance. Although no mention is made of physical education directly, they do recognize sport as being greatly valued and a socially recognized achievement regardless of its personal meaning. Among other things Bowles and Gintis raise the points that although meritocratically increasing equality in the distribution of education should bring about an equality of

income, the persistence of a high degree of inequality, income and property still exists.

Gruneau (1975, 1976) continued to debate the egalitarian-meritocratic aspect of participation and achievement in the high school system as follows:

Under present conditions however, the school itself may be less an agency of democratization than a factor which serves to crystallize existing differences (Gruneau:1976:131).

The whole system in general, has reinforced the maintenance of existing status differences, eliminating through a lack of understanding "underclass children who suffer by their poor academic performance . . . and lack of reverence for the school demands" (Gruneau:1976:131) and providing for upper and middle class children who are attuned to the institutional demands of the school.

Another consideration which has possible impact is the issue of sports career enticements. The lure of a college career in athletics, as suggested by Schafer and Arner (1968), may not be the case in Canadian schools where scholarships are almost nonexistent in Canadian university athletic programmes.

Downey's study of cultural differences in regions of Canada and the United States suggests that Canadians placed "greater emphasis on the pursuit of knowledge and scholarly attitudes as an outcome of schooling than did Americans" (Jerome and Philips:1976:124).

Downey's study is supported by the research of David

Friesen, who, with a large sample discovered some significant differences in Canadian and American high school students. In introducing Friesen's article, Gruneau and Beamish state:

... Friesen's data suggests that surprisingly, the attitudes of Canadian students in the mid sixties did not fit such conventional stereotypes (Gruneau and Albinson:1976:298).

While American students were more "short term" with their need for gratification, Canadian students considered immediate social recognition as less important than the "enduring value" that could be placed on academic achievement. Friesen, also notes that athletics and popularity are nevertheless important to the adolescent society in Canada.

The emphasis of the Human Capital theorists, that education and academic standing are a prerequisite to a successful career in the labour market, does not seem to have impressed American students who look upon athletics and sports as an alternative. Spady (1960) saw sports as an alternative rather than an addition to the academic process of the school. In Canada, physical education and sports in senior high schools cannot be judged in such a manner.

The Use of Ethnography in Sports Sociology

Two ethnographic studies were completed at the University of Alberta by doctoral students Thomson (1977) and Gravelle (1977). These studies deviated from the

orthodox methodologies used at the graduate level and adopted similar approaches to gather "qualitative data" which enriched the presentation of their findings in an unusual and enlightening way. Thomson's study focussed on the rugby subculture and drew heavily on his experiences as a player and sometimes coach to describe and explain the life-world of rugby players.

Gravelle's study involved the examination of the role of the master coach of a university swim team. Gravelle spent a season examining the intricate set of roles which were played by the master coach in relation to his responsibilities to his team, family and community.

Both studies marked a departure from the empirical-analytic framework of structural-functionalists studies in the socio-cultural investigation of sport and moved towards the interpretive paradigm with the use of qualitative data.

Another study which falls under the rubric of sports sociology is the recent study by Linsley (1978). Her analysis of high school sport is particularly interesting because it relies on the ethnographic approach to look at the cultural system of a high school girl's basketball team. As participant observer, the researcher described patterns, processes and a variety of social phenomena.

Methodologically similar studies to Linsley's have been attempted successfully by Plimpton (1961, 1965, 1968) Scott (1968) and Telander (1970), who ethnographically immersed

themselves in the culture of the people in particular sports in order to gather data from informants who were actors in the milieux of sporting contexts and from their own observations.

Matching these studies, but using anonymous contacts and informants, Ball (1970) adopted the ethnographic approach, not in the sporting scene, but in an abortion clinic in order to "illuminate strategies" (Stone and Farberman:1979:197). Although unrelated to the sociology of sport, the study is mentioned here because the method could well be used in the sporting context. A similar notion has been used by Ingham in his paper "The Occupational Organization of Sport" (Ball and Loy:1976:369-372). The concept of "impression management" could be investigated effectively by using the ethnographic method.

Together, the actual use of the method and the application of the concept can, when applied, be useful instruments in the description and explanation of specific sport life-worlds. However, these qualitative studies still remain in the minority in the literature pertaining to sport and physical education.

Summary

The main sociological interest in the high school physical education has been to look at the efforts of sports individuals. This is closely aligned with the North American scientific approach to the study of social interaction in

general. Sociologists have used school sport as an ideal setting to test sociological concepts to "gain more effective control by means of scientific knowledge" (Van Manen:1977:207). Few efforts so far have emerged in the study of sport which root themselves in different forms of knowledge, such as the Goffman approach, symbolic interaction, phenomenology, ethnomethodology or critical theory. Most studies (in the general area of education) still reside and are considered "subservient to the one dimensional world of empirical-analytic science" (Van Manen:1977:207).

CHAPTER III

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY, METHODS, PROCEDURES AND CONSIDERATIONS

Introduction

In this chapter an attempt is made to explain the underlying theoretical stance, by reviewing sociological literature and relating that review to the problems encountered in this study. The first part of the chapter deals briefly with a number of variations of sociological interests which seek to explore social reality. These schools of thought have been superficially treated, but hopefully serve to demonstrate how I have been sensitized by their potential to uncover the taken-for-granted life-world which surrounds us all.

Beyond these examples the chapter attempts to show how the brief review of pertinent literature supports these sociological concerns. The methodological discussion not only shows from where the ethnographic method came, but also, how appropriate it is to adopt such a method.

In taking this approach I was able to analyze, adopt or reject such methodological and sociological concepts which met or would not meet the needs of this study. What remains in this chapter is considered relevant and important to the discovery, explanation and interpretation of the social reality of the life-world of the physical education teacher.

The underlying objective in this study is a response on my part to address the problem of the state of research in

physical education. The adoption of a method to gather qualitative data has not demonstrated a departure from traditional methodology. However, what has enabled this study to venture into new directions is the attempt to interpret the qualitative data. Furthermore, the substantive nature of the data is a demonstration of interest in an area which is often forsaken by physical education researchers themselves.

In addition to these concerns, it has been possible through the review of literature, in the chapter, to compare the nature of the data arising from the positivistic paradigms with the potential qualitative data revealed by ethnographic accounts. What emerges in the latter is the rich and subjective qualities of data which exchanges trust in quantity for a reliance on quality. In this chapter it is possible to see how less conventional approaches may contribute to such desired ends. After examining the existing literature, it would appear more fruitful not to confine the search for previous findings to literature relating to physical education. Instead, literature utilizing the ethnographic approach to describe and analyse various institutions is more plentiful (Becker:1952, 1965, 1971; Goffman:1961, 1963) and of greater significance to a study of this nature.

Studies which have adopted the ethnographic approach in examining individuals are also numerous and most useful in attempting to delineate the problems and the observed

interactions. Walcott's study (1973) of the school principal is included in a series of case studies in education and culture which emphasize the anthropological viewpoint that "education is a cultural process and every act of teaching and learning is a cultural event" (Walcott:1973:vii). Other studies have stressed relationships (Becker:1952a,1952b) and hence fall under the sociological emphasis.

Following the early studies and adopting their techniques and methodologies came a series of studies reported in Young's book "Knowledge and Control" (1971). In this book of readings he stresses the need for sociologists to open up some "fruitful directions for sociological inquiry into education" (1971:2). He suggests that studies of education by sociologists have "taken educator's problems and, by not making their assumptions explicit have necessarily taken them for granted" (Young:1971:1).

The emergence of a "new sociology" coincided with the appointment of Bernard Berstein to London University Institute of Education in 1963. His influence was particularly felt in the area of interpretive sociology. Paradigms of an interpretive nature were developed in spite of the "insecure feeling regarding scientific status of the discipline whose positivistic vigour was lacking" (Karabel and Halsey:1977:51). Furthermore, sociologists of education, philosophers and sociologists have steered clear of studying "in-school" content because of what Young declared as "boundary disputes" between sociologists of education,

philosophers and curriculum specialists. At any rate, a gathering band of new sociologists of education emerged (Davies:1969; Young:1971; Gorbitt:1972; and Esland:1971) and attacked the normative approach with an enthusiasm that characterised the early ethnomethodologists (Garfinkel:1967 and Cicourel:1973). The emphasis to move attention from methods which were considered legitimate to those marginally recognized, yet necessary approaches, can be seen as bold, initiating and forward looking.

This shift is considered to be significant by Young (1971) and Karabel (1977) particularly because it focuses on sociological issues that have previously not been considered problematic. To illustrate this point, it has been true to say, for example, that socially constructed categories such as "academic and non-academic", "able and dull", "play from learning", have been taken for granted by parents, teachers and researchers alike. "In order to explore situationally defined meanings in taken-for-granted institutional contexts such as schools" (Young:1971:5), it will be necessary to conduct detailed field work in the form of participant observation to begin to treat as problematic, the taken-for-granted role of the physical education teacher. The subject matter that emerges as problematic for this study is the way in which major subjects (the physical education teacher) and the subject matter of physical education are socially constructed and form a set of shared meanings between the physical education teacher and those

with whom he interacts.

C. Wright Mills (1939) points out that reasoning or being logical is based on:

. . . Self reflection or criticism of one's own thoughts in terms of various standardized models, and will be shaped and selected in accordance with the purpose of the discourse or the intentions of the enquiry (Mills:1939:).

In the area of physical education the teacher's role is based on these terms and forms a "prescribed perspective of a set of social conventions" (Young:1971:5) whose outcomes, when prescribed to students, are considered deviant when a failure on the student's part to conform becomes apparent. This deviancy suggests:

That the interaction involved is, in part, a product of the dominant defining categories of social convention which are taken for granted by the teacher (Young:1971:6),

and the student's unwillingness or ability to accept social convention.

To illustrate this complex type of study, Keddle's paper in Young (1971) demonstrated the social phenomenological approach that may be incorporated into the ethnographical method. This study involved the close examination of the teacher's taken-for-granted world as exemplified in the social study classes she observed. Keddle suggested that academic success was very clearly linked to the degree of acceptance of the teacher's presentation of the content of what was being taught.

The central thrust of the "new sociology" would seem to centre around the issue of "management of knowledge" (Davies:1971), and the theoretical framework which is provided by the sociology of knowledge.

The "interpretive paradigm" (Karabel and Halsey:1977:53) provides the opportunity to analyze at least three related problems which emerge as the key concerns of the field of education. They appear to be (1) teacher-student interaction, (2) categories and concepts used by educators and (3) the curriculum.

Keddie's study is a good example of the "new sociology" and the expression of its interests, namely the search for the processes involved in the production of academic "failures".

Careful observation of teachers both inside and outside the classroom reveals that the concepts they hold, though often in contradiction with their aims as "educationalists", influence their relations with pupils in the classroom. (Karabel and Halsey:1977:53).

The appeal by Young for sociologists to "look at the curriculum as an expression of the principles governing the organisation and selection of knowledge," would seem to be a challenge which could fruitfully be taken up by physical education researchers.

Other forms of knowledge have been utilized in the study of education and will be briefly addressed in the following two sections. Their inclusion would seem to contribute to the problematic issues which surround the

qualitative data derived from the ethnographic and case study approaches.

Phenomenology

The interpretive approach illustrated by Keddie's study is strongly based on the form of knowledge known as social phenomenology,³ which Karabel and Halsey (1971) seem to think was a manifestation of the reaction, not only to the empirical-analytic approach that had persisted for many years, but also was a reaction to the introduction of comprehensive education introduced in Great Britain in recent times.

The volumes of material that have emerged on phenomenology provide many problems of interpretation for its readers, some of which can be traced to Edmund Husserl, the 19th century philosophic phenomenologist.

Husserl, according to Giddens (1976), suggested that:

... The ordinary assumptions that we make about the physical world, about other people, and about ourselves, in our day-to-day life are treated ... as just so much bric-a-brac that has to be cleared away to reveal subjectivity in its pure form (1976:25).

Few have heeded Husserl's concern for the removal of those factors which prevent exploration of the underlying, submerged or "deep structures" (Van Manen:1977:207), which provide the data for the descriptive-analytic method.

³ According to Sharp and Green "The Social phenomenologist is opposed to any kind of mechanistic interpretation of human behaviour, rejecting all forms of determinism whether biological, psychological, social or cultural" (1975:18).

The decluttering procedure is most complex and must be performed in order to see through the superficial structure of everyday life to the underlying structures. Another difficulty with which the social scientist has to contend is that of the intrinsic properties of the social phenomena he intends to observe.

Walsh (1972), in illustrating the characteristics of the natural and social world, shows, by contrast, the significance of this consideration. The natural world must be considered "intrinsically meaningless" and the scientist in his examination of it deals with "facts data and events" (Walsh:1972:17) which in themselves have no meaning, no relevance except that which the scientist implies. The natural world of the scientist becomes a taken-for-granted one, shared by the common agreement between scientists.

The social scientist, on the other hand, does not enjoy much consensus, for his observational field is the social world which "has particular and specific meaning for the actors acting therein" (Walsh:1972:17). These phenomena which are pursued are of particular interest to the phenomenologist because they are located within the deep structures and have intrinsic meaning.

The phenomenological approach was largely confined to Europe, its place of origin, and it is only in the last ten years, largely due to the publication of the works of Alfred Schutz (1966, 1967), that some impact has been felt in North America. The growing discontent with the nature of

explanations in education research and in social science in general (Magoon:1977) has provided a great opportunity for the reception of new ideas from other influences.

Van Manen (1978) has demonstrated the value of looking at the Utrecht School of scholars "who coalesced during the 1950's" (1978:1) to form the Institute for Didactic and Pedagogic Studies. In order to attempt an explanation of the work of the Institute, Van Manen uses the representative work of the central scholar M.J. Langeveld to describe the phenomenological pedagogy upon which the Institute is based.

Langeveld's work calls for an examination of pedagogic structures of life experiences while maintaining a focus on the epistemological and normative structures at the same time. This type of educational research differs from the recent innovations from the phenomenological sociology of the British schools represented by Young (1971), Keddie (1972) and many more. It also differs from the North American ethnomethodological approach of Mehan (1974). The Utrecht School goes further than the phenomenological description and aims to "construct within the integrity of ongoing interpretation of the meaning and purpose of what it means to educate" (Van Manen:1978:4).

Of central concern to the Utrecht School is the principle of human maturation especially as it is involved in pedagogy, where the child is seen as actively and freely constructing its own life-project.

True pedagogy involves assisting the child in coming to terms with, and transcending, the very

constraints which would stand in the way of a reflective and autonomous passage toward responsible adulthood (Van Manen:1978:6).

Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology is another form of knowledge unused in physical education or sports but one that has recently enriched the intellectual content of educational research. It may well be a suitable approach for the description and explanation of the role of any member of the social world of the school. The emphasis placed by the ethnomethodologists coincides with the emergence of the American counter culture in the 1960's. Karabel and Halsey (1977) infer that the American radical movement has provided the setting for the development of ethnomethodology. One might suggest that it falls towards critical theory by reason of its inquiry into the taken-for-granted everyday world we have all blithely come to accept.

Ethnomethodologists primarily have centred their interest around the fact that our lives are guided by unspoken and unwritten laws, which are constantly in operation, yet we do not recognize their form or the ways they shape our thinking and consequently, our actions. By treating:

Practical activities, practical circumstances, and practical sociological reasoning as topics of empirical study, and by paying the most common place activities of daily life the attention usually accorded extraordinary events we can seek to learn about phenomena in their own right (Garfinkel:1967:1).

In the analysis of everyday conversation the ethnomethodologist is able to gather data which enables the reporter and the auditor to understand one another without stating much of what is reported. The researcher's role in his attempt to construct a social world based on commonsense knowledge must ascertain:

(1) The system of relevancies that members use to define social settings, actions and talk. (2) What members take to be routine obvious and uninteresting in order to examine the manner in which socially organized activities constitute a state (Silverman: 1972: 8).

Physical education settings and interscholastic sports events may well be ideal, socially organized activities in which ethnomethodological research may succeed. Sports have been the source of rich data on social interaction in the empirical-analytic paradigms of recent years (Ball: 1975) and promise to be of equal interest to the researchers who come from the humanistic perspective.

The type of examination which is clearly supported in the survey of literature is one which the researcher believes will bring together formal and substantive issues related to the role of the physical education teacher. Furthermore, the methods suggested by the literature provide the opportunity to go beyond the description of a subject in his institutional setting, and move towards an explanation of the ways in which the physical education teacher constructs and defines the various situations in the life-world of the school.

Hopefully, this brief account will, in some measure, provide the reader with a clear direction of this study. Both phenomenology and ethnomethodology emphasize the sensitization of the researcher to the taken-for-granted world which surrounds us. The so called "new sociology" adopted the interpretive paradigm. All three directions have, in turn, sensitized me to look seriously at their merits and potential for sociological research in physical education. All adopt and use to some extent the ethnographic approach as opposed to the exclusive use of quantitative research methods in the gathering of empirical materials.

Methods and Procedures

Origins of the Ethnographic Approach

The origins of the techniques used in face-to-face relationships between observer and the observed can be traced back through the anthropological field studies to one of the first sociological studies by Frederick Le Play (1885). His method of visiting and seeing for himself resulted in the publication of his book "Les Ouvriers Europeens".

The study by Thomas and Znaniecki published in 1918-20 of the "Polish Peasant in Europe and America" argues Bruyn (1966), represented a turning point in the history of sociological research (1966:9), because it concentrated on a qualitative approach in order to study "the actual civilized society in its full development and with all its complexity"

(Blumer:1949:7). Znaniecki maintained that data gathered are always "somebody's never nobody's data" (Bruyn:1966:3), and as such must always be treated as belonging to, and existing in, the human experience.

Developing at the same time, and distinguished from the qualitative approach adopted by the empirical analytic method of Emile Durkheim, "The Rules of Sociological Method," encourages the social scientist "to consider facts as things" (1938:1). In addition:

The subject matter of every sociological group of phenomena defined in advance by certain common characteristics, should be included in this group (1938:35).

Based on the naturalism of the 19th century, Durkheim laid out the essence of the empirical method which was considered one of the most advanced theories of the day and did much to enhance the position of the empirical statistical studies that have since followed. The first of these studies was the study "Suicide" which was (and still is) considered to be one of the classic examples of a controlled study in the social sciences.

The two works described above represent milestones in the history of sociological research, with Durkheim representing the quantitative method, and Znaniecki representing the qualitative method. Both men had unwittingly, introduced an approach that has created a debate among social theorists and researchers ever since. The traditional empiricists have developed sophisticated

methods which have become accompanied, in recent years, by the introduction of sophisticated computer equipment.

On the qualitative side a considerable volume of criticism has accumulated over "the confusion of methods and techniques that are employed by participant observers in studying certain types of subject matter" (McCall and Simmons:1969:1). Cultural and social studies which have involved participant observation have adopted the use of systematic description and explanation of symbolic interaction among human groups. These studies, as did Thomas and Znaniecki's, utilize the fact that "significant social research could take place without reducing data to quantitative terms" (Bruyn:1966:10).

In the 1920's, studies emerging from the "Chicago School" had a distinct theme of interest in the subculture and lower stratified segments of society. While anthropologists were mainly interested in culture, and the sociologists in the social features of community life, they did not uphold a strong professional differentiation in their respective fields. Anthropologists contributed in no small measure, to the knowledge and interests of sociologists, while the reverse was also true.

Sensitive insights drawn from personal knowledge of the people and their way of life, included such works as Shaw's "The Jack Roller" (1930). Initial and follow up studies by Robert and Helen Lynd of "Middletown" (1929) employed informal interviews, and depended on face-to-face

relationships for its insightful information. The 1930 study by Roethlisberger and Dickson entitled "Management and The Worker" represented an interest in rising industrialism. More significantly, in regards to this study, the researchers adopted participant observation roles, in order to gather data in a difficult and "contensious situation".

One of the most prominent sociological studies which stressed the use of participant observation was "Street Corner Society" by William Whyte (1955). This has been followed by attention to various subcultures and social situations by other social scientists. A prominent study of the medical profession and the preparation of its potential members is found in "Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School" (Becker:1961).

Observational Techniques Related to This Study

Most of the research previously discussed falls under the category of positively defined actions and the seeking of general laws. The analysis, of teacher's roles for the most part, is guided by facts or causes of social phenomena. Durkheim encouraged the researcher to look at "social facts as things". According to Durkheim there is a category of characteristics consisting of:

Ways of acting, thinking and feeling external to the individual, and endowed with a power of coercion, by reason of which they control him (Durkheim:1938:3).

This method has encouraged positivist researchers to define facts and causes and then operationalize variables in order

that quantitative data can be produced which will allow the researcher to statistically ascertain relationships between variables (Musgrove and Taylor:1971:43).

The ethnographer, on the other hand, seeks to comprehend his subject's world view through the actions and words he observes. This appears on the surface to be unclinical and primitive and can result in naive conclusions, the content of which are known to the layman and social scientist alike before the research commences. However, in this study the ethnographic method has the potential to generate rich and subjective data which quantitative methods cannot be expected to do.

The qualitative approach is used generally (and specifically in this study) as a research approach "characterized by a period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter" (Bogdan and Taylor:1975:5). The approach is aimed at allowing the observer to immerse himself in the lives of people (teachers and students) and the setting (the school) in order to understand how to observe and continually explore through theoretical analysis. Hughes (1960) makes some suggestions regarding the problem of the observer which he likens to the problem of living in society:

It is a problem of making enough good guesses from previous experience so that one can get into a social situation in which to get more knowledge and experience to enable him to make more good guesses to get into a better situation, ad infinitum (Junker:1960:xv).

Field Procedures Used in This Study

A period of nine months was used to gather qualitative data. The time period provided an opportunity to view the physical education teacher over the most active part of the school year. Several other visits were made to the site both before and after the research period.*

The duration of time of any one visit varied from a one hour interview to a whole school day. A variety of times were chosen on the basis of several criteria, one of which was the possibility of gathering significant data, a prejudgement placed on the situation by the researcher. Second, there appeared to be promising situations which my subject and I considered important and arrangements were purposely made to attend. Such special events as an important football game, the annual camping trip, or a particularly "good" lesson were all examples of events which the physical education teacher felt were significant. Third, no effort was made to state when visits would occur and I would just "pop" in to see what was "up". All three ways of approaching the setting often gave rise to different data and different ways of seeing the situation.

The nine month period enabled me to observe the

* A total of 74 documented visits were made to the school from June 1977 to June 1978. Although a concentrated period of nine months was used to observe the physical education staff as they operated during the normal school day, visits before and after the concentrated period were also made. The purpose of the latter was to avoid a sudden appearance and an equally sudden disappearance from the site.

stresses and strains imposed upon the physical education department head by Canadian weather systems. The time period also enabled the school physical activity programme to be viewed from its beginning in September to the unit offerings of instruction in May. The variety of activities offered in a modern Canadian high school range from indoor activities, and from on-site to off-site locations, and were defined on a cooperative-competitive continuum.

The provision to view all the interscholastic sports was also made by the nine month research period allotted to the study. By the middle of May the congested athletic season for the students had come full circle with the exception of track and field. The school coaches and athletes had completed another competitive season and the equipment was being checked, repaired and stored in preparation for the summer recess.

During the nine month research period, the completion of one semester was observed, and the rapid folding of a second was only a few weeks away. Students sat their final examinations two weeks before the end of the term and the regularity of school life was at once disrupted and continued that way until the final day of school.

Selection of a Research Subject and Site

Bogdan (1975) suggested that the selection of a site should attempt to meet the substantive and theoretical interests of the researcher. He further suggested that

substantive demands are more easily satisfied than theoretical interests or at least one can easily determine whether the setting will provide the necessary information. Compounding the problematic issue of the site, was the selection and consensus of a subject within the setting, who, for nine months, would be required to "act normally".

The suggestion that, theoretical interests should be of concern, but not to the extent that they cannot be exchanged for a variety of theoretical phenomena that may offer themselves in a particular chosen setting, was made. Glaser and Strauss went further to suggest that an alternative approach would be to allow:

Substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge first, on their own, enabling the analyst to ascertain which, if any, existing formal theory may help him generate his substantive theories (1973:34).

Of prime importance to this study was the selection of a suitable subject whose personality and approach to the life-world⁵ of the school was of such a nature that he or she could be viewed over a long period of time without undue stress on observer or observed. Several prospective persons were interviewed under the cover of a research project that emphasized an investigation into the problems of physical education teachers and their subject area.

Interviews were also carried out with nonactive

⁵ A. Schutz (1964) Collected Papers, The Hague; Martinus Nijhoff, vol. 1, pp. 120-139. He provides a full discussion of the concept 'life world'. Essentially the term refers to the attempt to view man's reality from a deep structured and pre-theoretical position.

physical education teachers in order to ascertain that the eventual selection of a subject would ensure some typicality. Principals, heads of departments, and supervisors were included in the preliminary study. Issues raised by individual points of view enabled me to search for a physical education teacher who possessed traces of specific professional attitudes and whose practices of professional duties were within the range of normality accepted generally by physical education personnel in the field and in administration.

The chosen subject then, would be a teacher who had an influence in the organization of physical education in a modern high school, and through the development of his programme would demonstrate attitudes towards the success or failure of it. Jim Freeman was selected after a few weeks of deliberation, and an introduction by a member of the physical education faculty at the University of Alberta was made on my behalf. The faculty member who knew Jim well, was supportive of my selection and had raised his name originally. This done, I telephoned the subject and arranged an interview.

I attempted in my first meeting to explain the purpose of the study, and to reassure him that my own experience would contribute to my understanding of his position. I also attempted to reassure him that I would do my best not to upset his routine by adopting an unobtrusive position as far as was methodologically possible.

He was emphatic about his role as a physical education teacher and promised that, on my account he "would not be putting on an act." There was the possibility that, if I had not been present Jim would have acted or reacted differently, but under the normal everyday routine it was difficult to establish how my presence affected the circumstances.

My visits were frequently and, for most of the research period, regularly made to the school, rink or pool. Sometimes my visits would be made in the afternoon, just before a practice of an interscholastic sport, at other times I would make my appearance first thing in the morning. Although often I would inform him of my next visit, Jim would take little notice. It became a courtesy to state that I actually would be back. He was careful to inform me of possible upcoming events which would alter his or the school's timetable, but on numerous occasions the school administration had made last minute changes thus affecting Jim's programme, and thwarting our arrangements.

Gathering Data

The data were gathered from observational sessions where I openly wrote descriptive notes of the event, about my own feelings towards that particular event and often about my initial interpretation of the interaction taking place.

I also gathered data in the form of interviews which

were semi-structured with open ended questions that often required probing. At other times the interviews were conducted similarly to those described by Becker (1961:28), where the "observer was not entirely passive, but instead, when the occasion presented itself" questions were asked and "haphazard interviewing" was conducted. This method of casual and informal interviews often produced rich data whose relevance I clearly identified.

I did not record every event I observed. This was not only impossible but was considered to be of limited use. Conversely, a second or third researcher would have been invaluable. What was attempted however, was a collection of data that would in some measure fulfill the objective and purpose of the study. An ongoing assessment of what was required in the form of background information, demographic details and specific dates was made. Interviews were transcribed exactly from the tape recorder and a sense-making-edit was typed and duplicated as quickly as possible after the taping session. Taking Walcott's advice, "I never returned to the school until the notes from the previous visit were completed" (1970:118). Not only would unfinished notes create an organizational problem, but a visit before the completion of the previous notes may have had some impact on those unwritten accounts, thus it was with some compulsion that the researcher visited the school with a clean sheet of note paper each time.

While the first three months were exploratory, the

remaining time was more directed to the formulation of substantive categories based on the issues that emerged as the observer began to identify those problems in the events which were recorded. The exploratory nature of the early part of the research period also enabled more structured, direct and relevant data to surface to support or refute the eventual formulation of tentative propositions. In order to clarify various points of view of individuals, a second taped interview was arranged with some informants.

Dimensions and Strategies

As previously mentioned, this investigation was carried out through fieldwork involving me in the role of observer in the life-world of the school. The data gathered were not used in terms of the usual causal relationships between operationalized concepts, instead, a whole set of interrelated propositions emerged from this study as it proceeded. This emergence came as a result of entering the field with some general problems in mind. Such issues as, the physical education teacher playing the role of teacher for part of the day and coach for another part, or the subroles of this man and how they affected the functioning of his programme were considered or discarded.

These problems guided my early investigation, and for the first twelve weeks of the study I tested a number of hunches, guesses and suspicions and began to make some order of them. The initial stage enabled me to identify

significant actors as the drama unfolded and the significance of events were established. Propositions appeared and the second stage of the investigation developed. Daily observations enabled me to control and direct my enquiry as categories were formulated, and missing data were gathered to attempt to understand the reality of the situation.

One of the major problems which seems to be common in studies of this nature, is the problem of experiencing a modulation in one's own perspective. Regular memos to oneself expressing personal feelings, and constant checking of one's own voracity to provide solutions to the issues arising within the institution, were required. Being conscious at all times of what was happening in the situation, and to oneself, was very important. Although it is often recommended that the observer remains uncommitted, at times it is beneficial to be somewhat outspoken. Such strategies are outlined by Strauss et al. (1964:18-29), and will be briefly identified here as they were often adopted in this study.

Observations of Specific Situations

The teacher's life-world at the school is carefully controlled by him where possible. The regularity of what happened during the study, and what was about to happen was highly predictable, and the methods employed to handle events was pattern-like after a few weeks of observation.

What becomes interesting, therefore, were the irregularities, which in themselves exposed more of the person than the monotonous observations of regular events. Unfortunately, few occurred over the observation period, but those which were observed were valuable and insightful to the researcher. Occasions where students became discipline problems, or where the best basketball players who were juniors refused to play for the more prestigious senior team, were good examples of the type of issues which exposed hitherto unrevealed traits.

Specific situations, as provided by the two examples above, can develop spontaneously as in the first, where the observer just happens to be located close by, or as in the second example, where the observer may be somewhat more prepared. Whichever occurs, the researcher is "delineating the empirical subject matter of investigation more clearly" (Strauss:1964:24).

The situations observed in this study centred around the temporal and spatial dimensions of the life-world of the physical education teacher, and were based on my previous knowledge of the situations. Such knowledge provided the basis for previously mentioned hunches and guesses experienced by the researcher upon which specific situations were selected for observation.

Specific Strategies

The observations just mentioned refer to the dimensions

which were taken into account by the fieldworker as he attempted to account for the numerous events of daily life of the actors in their world. Strauss also underlined the strategies that the fieldworker must recognize in the collection of data. The following strategies are recognized in this study.

(1) The field worker as a passive observer. I often found myself sitting alone in the staffroom or sitting in the corner of the physical education office listening and watching the interaction between two or more actors. In my observation I attempted to determine, if, in any measure at all my presence influenced the responses of those involved. At times the influence of my presence was noticeable. For example, Rob Romanuk (one of the physical education staff) would often put on a show of loud singing, or would challenge the mood which Jim was displaying. On other occasions it became difficult to ascertain whether or not the reactions were taking place with no overt recognition of my presence.

(2) The fieldworker in clarificatory participation. In this category I judged the situation to be one in which it was appropriate to interrupt and ask for clarification of ongoing events. Sometimes this was unnecessary as Jim interjected on my behalf regarding the conversation topic. Jim clearly thought of my lack of understanding on various issues and needed little prompting to clarify the situation.

(3) The fieldworker in directive interaction. It was

often the case in this study, that I found it necessary to solicit directly through open questioning certain information. Informal interviewing often occurred and was recognized as a valuable method of gathering information freely given by informants. Unfortunately, it was often the case that no tape recorder was available, but the presence of such a device may have been sufficient to have inhibited the opinions that often came forth.

Formal interviewing achieved a different reaction, and even when informants agreed to be taped they often were hesitant at the commencement of the interview. Although I often provided the interviewees with a set of questions beforehand, I often was led into further questioning by the responses to the original questions.

(4) The field worker as participant. In my initial meeting with Jim he was firm about the role I should take in the observation of his classes. It was to be a role of observer with which I was forced to agree. However, this changed during the research period to one of observer and resource person. Having an expertise in the coaching of gymnastics, I was asked to demonstrate any new teaching methods I may have considered useful, and more importantly what spotting methods were necessary for the safe performance of specific skills.

This move to call upon my expertise took place towards the end of the third month of the fieldwork, and I could only assume a change in staff trust was beginning to take

place. This also allowed the opportunity for Jim and his staff to expose some of the problems with which they were grappling in the teaching of a difficult unit. Jim permitted me to see his world from his viewpoint.

For this particular project, the arrangement was most satisfactory, and my early concerns that staff would be reluctant to accept me were soon discarded. Instead, I was recognized as a university researcher interested in the sociological perspectives of how physical education teachers functioned in the social world of the school. Without posing a threat, my position as university faculty was considered an opportunity for physical education staff to express concerns about the state of physical education in general, and the inadequate care of universities in the preparation of teachers in particular.

Limitations

It was difficult in this study to overcome the fact that as observers "People are low-fidelity observational instruments" (Webb et al.:1966:142), who tend to become erratic over the relatively long period of the research. This was particularly true in this study, considering that the serious collection of data commenced 9 months before the final observations were made. In such a time span the researcher experienced certain difficulties expressed, for example, in the recognition of the value of certain data and in the asking of pertinent questions. At times the gathering

of data was fruitful, while at other times many hours were spent with no apparent value. However, these difficulties gradually diminished as the study proceeded, and towards the end I found that the data was easier to retrieve probably because of staff acceptance of my presence.

A limitation considered by the researcher, revealed itself after the study had begun. The concern emerged upon the realization that only a small amount of data directly related to an incident was actually gathered. In a study of this type a second and even third researcher would have contributed so much more to the research. This study revealed the interrelated quality of variables, but it was difficult during the research period to see the many-sided images of the reality which was present. I lacked the opportunity to discuss newly found working hypotheses as they emerged from substantive issues with other researchers working in the same field. However, suggestions by Glaser and Strauss provided a reassurance that it was permissible to accumulate data relevant to the substantive areas and to ascertain which, if any, existing "middle range" theory would fit the data (1967:34). In this way I did not seek theories during the early months of this study, but was more content to gather data of varying significance.

Shibutani (1966) reminded us that:

. . . Reality is a social process, it is an orientation that is continuously supported by others. . . . In this sense all knowledge is social. . . . Societies, no matter how stable they may appear, are on-going things. The world is in a state of continuous flux, and as life conditions change,

knowledge must keep pace (quoted in Denzin:1970:448).

Denzin goes on to point out that to speak of a "reality" is to speak of an object which has a negotiated existence. In the case of studies such as this one, I perceived reality as designated by the research strategies and substantive theories employed. However, the employment of varying methods served to "discover that which is general and similar about our studied objects across time and situation" (Denzin:1970:450), but cannot be expected to automatically validate the data.

The question of external and internal validity is commonly raised in case study approaches to sociological problems and is no exception in this research. An early concern stemmed from the problem of validity which restricted the generalization of findings from the investigation. Campbell and Stanley (1963) demonstrated, in listing the factors which restrict generalizability, many of the limitations with which the ethnographer has to contend.

While it is impossible to completely solve the problems of internal and external validity, the researcher attempted to adhere to the recommendations of Denzin (1969, 1970, 1978) and Webb et al. (1966), who suggested the employment of a triangulation of methodologies with participant observation being one of them. In this study the acceptance of simple observations combined with semi-structured interviews in addition to an early survey of high schools

and their programmes (Smith and Johns:1978) provided a triangulation of contributing data to the research. Careful attention was paid to the adoption of appropriate methods, whose extensive use was varied, but whose employment contributed to the creation of "enough points in conceptual space to triangulate" (Webb:1966:34).

Delimitations

The study was also limited to investigation of the role of the male physical educator. The choice of the subject was based on the previously mentioned criteria under the section which dealt with the selection of subject and site. Using such criteria decreased the choice of teachers to males because, at the time of writing, only one school employed a female head of department.

A further related delimitation concerned the treatment of data which pertained to female physical education at St. Ignatius High School. Although efforts were made to describe the role of female programmes and the personnel involved in them, I devoted most of my energies to the investigation of the male physical educator as head of department as stated in the purpose of the study. In addition, accessibility to the female locker room was extremely limited in the high school setting.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with a description of the school's physical layout, a brief history and some demographic data. With such background information the reader should experience fewer difficulties in interpreting the data as part of the life of the school.

However, as it is not the primary purpose of this project to investigate the structures and supportive materials, the descriptive information contained herein does not include an all encompassing picture of the life of the school and its physical layout, but only attempts only to provide a background, so that the reader may place the data in context. The purpose of the research, as stated in Chapter I, is to investigate the roles of actors primarily engaged in the everyday life of a high school.

Chapter V will serve to introduce the reader to the principal characters after the school setting and environment have been briefly explored.

St. Ignatius Composite High School

St. Ignatius Composite High School is a mixed senior secondary school on the West side of the city. It is of medium size by today's standards, with approximately 900 students. Over the years it has undergone significant structural and expansional changes. The school was built in

1959 as a separate school within a municipality of the city, but was amalgamated with the remainder of the Catholic schools in 1963. Before that occurred, however, the school, led by a Roman Catholic priest as principal, established a reputation of being both academic and religious, a reputation still remaining today. Physical education was not considered as playing a major role in that combination. The first fully trained physical education teacher was appointed by the school board in 1961. He arrived at the school well prepared, highly motivated, but having to contend with a school and a school board that were "really quite backward," (vis a vis the role of physical education).

The gymnasium at that time was quite inadequate and the grounds outside were nonexistent. The physical education teacher at that time recalled:

You could have run a good outdoor education programme right outside the back door, because everything West of the school was not developed. It was straight bush and the street outside the school was just about the last street. It was gravel and dirt, so in the summertime it was very dusty, and when the rains came it turned into mud.

Things have changed considerably since those days, and the present school shares an athletics ground, a public swimming pool and an indoor skating rink with the adjoining public high school. The use of the tennis courts and aforementioned facilities have been allocated to the school during the term time through the city parks and recreation department. In addition, other school physical education programmes require the use of a curling club where ice time

is available at a modest rent. A bowling alley and an indoor golf range with an assimulator were also used at certain periods during the school year; both facilities were booked in the spring and rental arrangements made.

St. Ignatius is housed in a two storey building with a large unimpressive frontage running parallel to a busy street. Student cars are parked both across this street and in the school car parks at each end of the building. Some space is reserved for staff parking. Playing fields extend the length of the school premises at the back and lead to an adjoining elementary school. The building itself is typical of school architecture of the late 50's and early 60's; functional, but not architecturally attractive. Most of the classrooms have windows, although some of the rooms are located on the interior of the school with no exterior walls. Besides various classrooms and special rooms such as art, language labs and workshops, there is a large library and a drama theatre.

A long hallway runs the length of the building at the South end with classrooms located on both sides. As one approaches the main entrance of the school, the hallway widens to allow for a trophy case, the principal's office and the secretarial staff.

The staffroom is close by, but sufficiently out of the mainstream of hallway traffic to avoid the noise and disturbance to teachers. The teacher's room is a large, spacious room naturally illuminated from a liberal number of



FIGURE 1. THE BUILDING, FUNCTIONAL BUT ARCHITECTURALLY UNATTRACTIVE.



FIGURE 2. THE TROPHY CASE, A REMINDER OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITY.

windows down one side of the room. It is divided into three main sections which provide different atmospheres for different purposes. The immediate third of the room from the hallway entrance, is carpeted, with imitation leather sofas and plastic laminated coffee tables arranged in clusters. The remaining two thirds of the room is divided by an orange curtain. One half is a marking area where teachers who do not wish to carry on conversation can go to do their marking, while the other half has high round tables where one can drink coffee and/or work at the same time. Frequently the round high tables are used for lunch gatherings of staff.

Just off this part of the room is a tidy kitchen which is equipped with a coffee maker and an automatic dishwasher. The kitchen is always clean due to the frequently used machine and the general desire of staff members to keep a fresh supply of coffee mugs available.

The staffroom was an important location in the gathering of data, and because of its layout and the purposes it served, many interesting and enlightening exchanges took place there. The division of areas within the large room offered staff several alternatives. For example, when a staff member wanted to write, read or mark books he disappeared behind the orange curtain. When a group of teachers wanted to work out a problem, discuss a teaching unit, or plan a practice they usually got themselves a cup of coffee and sat around one of the working tables to

discuss their ideas.

The Physical Education Facility

The indoor facilities for physical education comprise a large gymnasium which can be divided into two small gymnasias by a mechanical room divider. At the end of the gymnasium is a stage so that the gymnasium can be used, if necessary, as an auditorium for other school functions.

Storage areas around the gymnasium were numerous with one area allotted to special equipment like racquets, football helmets and pads. This area was originally designed as a kitchen with cupboards, a sink and a serving hatch. The latter has become useful in that the teachers who have keys to the room usually go behind the hatch to hand out and receive back equipment before and after periods of physical education. Physical education staff offices are also located on one side of the gymnasium area. The windows, which look out into the gymnasium, are barred with heavy gauge steel which protect the windows from bouncing balls on the gymnasium side but give a rather imprisoned effect on the inside.

The male and female offices are located across the hallways from their respective changing rooms which, in turn, lead into a traffic hall away from the gymnasium. This access hall to the gymnasium is often the source of congestion during the change over periods before and after physical education classes. The physical education office

becomes an intensely busy location with frequent interaction between teachers and students.

The physical education area traditionally has been architecturally conceived and conceptually placed in a marginal position in the school (Hendry:1975). The setting at St. Ignatius appears to be no different, although it has not always been this way. When I asked the previous physical education teacher what it was like in the school in the old days when the gymnasium was centrally located in the school, he replied:

Well there was a lot of interest, because everyone popped their heads around the door to see what was happening in the gym. I thought we had a tightly knit bunch of people there. Looking back I was an integral part of the staff, I wasn't just the jock.

From this position of relative centrality an expansion programme, common to many educational institutions of the time, began at the school. First, an extra staff room and expansion of the administration offices took place, followed by further expansion of science and business facilities, which was a reflection of the demands of the 60's (Lockhart:1971).

The old gym was finally converted into a drama theatre and a new wing including a large gymnasium and changing facilities were completed in 1969, the first year that Jim took over the position at the school. He recalled that throughout the Fall term of that year he had difficulties in planning his programme because the new facility was not ready.

The impression now formed is that the physical education department exists at the far reaches of the school and is removed from the position of centrality enjoyed by the school office. However, it would be unfair to single out physical education as the only subject area which has suffered in this transition and expansion. The ecology of the school, and the conceptual maps of the staff and students are implied in Campbell's model (1969), which attempts to show that boundaries are established and rationalized through considerations of what is central or peripheral to the institution. Such considerations show themselves in the form of decisions by the administration which may clearly demonstrate its support or rejection of the role of physical education.

There are various factors which contribute to the definition of such theoretical concepts as marginality and centrality besides the structural location of the facility which is essential to the physical education department's existence. The school seldom, if ever, meets as a whole except under a religious edict, with the result that all communication is carried out through the public address system which calls personnel to the office. Physical education staff duties absorb many of their free preparation periods, allowing them little time to visit the staffroom. The time spent in the staff room is also shortened by the problems facing one if caught in the hallways during the changing of classes. Getting hung up in the hallway traffic

would ensure that the teacher would be late arriving for the class. The problem is especially acute for those staff members, like physical education, whose teaching location is far from the staffroom and offices.

The Teaching Staff

The staff complement of 41 teachers is distributed among a variety of subjects, extending from academic and artistic opportunities to vocational and physical educational emphases. Alongside the teaching responsibilities were placed a series of courses in religion which command the teaching expertise of 9 members of staff. This department required the largest staff commitment of any subject area in the school. The courses were offered in all three grades.

The Student Body

The enrollment in the school during the research period was as follows: Grade 10-323 students, Grade 11-320 students, Grade 12-283 students, although this had suffered from attrition by the end of October due to grade 11 and 12 students leaving or moving to another school.

Although demographic data on the social class composition were unavailable, several teachers were impressed by the preponderance of middle class students enrolled in the school. The principal found it difficult to ascertain any abnormality in the distribution of social

Table 1 Approximate Number of Teachers Assignments To Subjects

Subjects Areas	*Number of Teacher Involved
Mathematics	9
English	6
Science	8
Social Studies	5
Psychology/	2
Sociology/Law	2
Commercial Subjects	3
Art/Drama/Music	3
Religious Studies	10
Shop I.A.	1
French	2
Physical Education	5
Home Economics	2

*The total number of staff involved above does not equal the number of staff employed, because many staff members teach more than one subject.

class, and provided examples of the variety of students he had attending his school which ranged from a high court judge's daughter to the son of a modest wage earner.

The principal also went on to point out that although the "feeder system" was still in effect, the "open boundary policy" was also operating. This policy enabled the school to accept students from any part of the city. This in turn, made it difficult to generalize from where the students came. The principal pointed out that the immediate area was one which had been established after the war, and most of the houses were small box-like structures. However, he also noted that there had been a change as of late in the way people perceived their homes, and many were either totally restructuring the small houses or were adding costly extensions to the existing structures. The principal's suggestion was that the area was now an area of transition and a trend towards upward mobility was evident.

This observation was not entirely in agreement with other members of staff who stated "We have no poor kids here" or "These kids have lots of money". Skiing, cars, clothes and other material signs were often the content of conversations overheard by the researcher, and an obvious stress on displaying the right image at appropriate times demanded substantial financial security.

Religion and the School Ethos

St. Ignatius, as mentioned previously, is a Roman

Catholic Secondary School in the Separate School system, and one is immediately aware of the religious emphasis of the school upon entering the school office. In the hallway and in various places throughout the school are religious symbols such as crosses and pictures of people in prayer and meditative mood. Once each month the school's Friday morning classes are cancelled in order that students may attend an adjacent church for a school mass conducted by an ordained priest on staff. The response to such a form of worship is good, although some of the religion teachers thought that there could have been a better response. The staff, many of whom were physical educators, felt that a unit in a religion class would help to develop an appreciation for the monthly mass.

Religious studies were part of the requirement in the school, as already mentioned, and each student was obliged to take a unit in each of his new three years at the school. As indicated earlier, 10 teachers were assigned to the area of religion. Although some felt that their university training was inadequate to teach religion in the secondary school, they were urged to take inservice and additional courses on the topic. In addition, the head of department (who also happened to be the head football coach), showed great willingness and interest in helping those staff members who were involved in the teaching of religion.

The history of the school showed that its emergence as an academic school was largely due to the emphasis and

influence of the Roman Catholic religion and more importantly, the Roman Catholic priest who administered the school in the office of principal. In the words of a former teacher:

. . . You look at the leadership in the form of the principal who was a person of high profile (in the school)

. . . You know we used to have a mass in the gym before that church was built out there by the parking lot, and everyone participated, and I tell you no one goofed off. Everyone accepted that, if you didn't

. . . Well you were reprimanded. Father M. was a man with a strong will, but he was a gentle person on the bottom line, sympathetic etc. He developed and tried to help kids, and religion was a major part of the whole thing.

That was 10 years ago. During the research period the current principal emphasized that the school was an academic institution within an educational system which was based on "the Catholic concept of man". Many places in the school had religious reminders of the faith in addition to the cancellation of classes for a mass once a month and the daily morning prayers. The principal described the school as different, not better, because the staff had an opportunity to instill Christian values. He also observed a certain common view which enabled the expression of religious views without fear of treading on "someone's toes". He proceeded to explain:

We take a look at personal values probably more so than in other systems, and we are concerned about their (the student's) growth in the Christian faith, which is tied in rather closely with social responsibility.

Interscholastic Sport, Physical Education and Religion

While the principal believed that the religious emphasis of the school served to link the Christian concept of man to education, he was unclear in his statement about its relationship with sport. Other staff members were emphatic about the relationship of sport and physical education to the cultivation of the religious ethic.

Without embarking on a full development of this topic at this point in the research report, it is worth noting that the head of the religion department, with his keen interest in sport, was clear on how he viewed the relationship of sport and the religious ethos in the school. He explained it in the following manner:

Part of the Christian ethic is the individual's respect for himself. That has to be the starting point. So to love yourself, to love your neighbour and to love your God is the Christian ethic as I understand it. Sport is something that is getting a person to understand himself, appreciate and respect himself. That's a good starting point because once a person does that he can learn to appreciate others and to relate to them.

Jim was not as explicit about the perceived values of sport and their close alliance with religion. In his role as football coach, he tended to agree with the notion that sport and religion were conducive to the development of the individual.

The other male physical education teacher Rob Romanuk, was carefully chosen to align closely with the philosophical basis that the school had built. His view of the physical education programme was that grade 11 and 12 were electives

to be taken for credit in the same manner as other academic offerings in the school, and as such were to be treated with the same academic rigour as other subject areas.

While the physical education classes were the core of the total physical education programme, interschool sports played an important part in the development of societal norms. According to Rob, those things which contributed to the student's success in the real world of the work force such as competition, fair play, etc., were to be found in the playing of games at the competitive level. He saw, as most informants did, the blending of the objectives of the physical education programme with the religious ethos of the school.

CHAPTER V

THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS AND THEIR PROGRAMME

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the cast of players in the social reality of a modern high school physical education programme. It is not intended in this chapter to describe in detail the personal characteristics of individuals, although certain personality features will be mentioned. The purpose of introducing major characters is to contribute to the reader's understanding of the way certain individuals relate to the microsocial world of St. Ignatius and to their negotiated reality.

In addition to introducing individuals as they fit into the life-world of the school, this chapter briefly describes for the reader the way in which a physical education programme operates within a school timetable which is designed to organize a student body in a manner conducive to academic subject areas. The realization that programming for a physical education course is a unique problem, is the subject matter for another chapter.

Finally, this study does not depend heavily on the quality of data that would provide a detail of the personalities of its main subjects. Instead, the study should be viewed as a description of a physical education teacher in a modern high school, the reality of which will hopefully contain a considerable amount of generalizability.

However, the validity of the study will not be rigorously tested in terms of an experimental design, but the quality of data will be seen to lend itself, in some measure, to a social phenomenological explanation of the roles of the players and the function of physical education in the high school setting.

While physical education is an integral part of the school life, it merits special attention in this study because first, it is a subject area of primary concern to this study and second, because physical education is a unique institutional structure within the school.

The uniqueness of the subject area becomes apparent when a comparison is made between physical education and most other academic areas in the school curriculum. The ethnographic approach used in this study revealed a unique set of problems and solutions associated with this subject area. The temporal and spatial considerations necessary to maintain a fully functioning high school programme create problems for school administrators and external facility managers (ie., recreation department, curling rink operators) alike. The content of the units in physical education are not presented in the security of the classroom but vary from a gymnasium to a curling rink. The nature of the student participation varies from the practice of old skills to the learning of new physical skills in a limited space of time. All of these problems represent part of the unique character of physical education in the modern high

school and will, as mentioned previously, be treated with appropriate attention in another chapter.

The Principal Characters

Jim Freeman. It would be difficult to isolate Jim Freeman as the head of department without involving, for the purposes of description and explanation, the role of members of the department and the school staff as a whole. For Jim, his social life within the school depended obviously on a high degree of social interaction with his department members, in particular, and with various other staff, in general. He was, at times, difficult to follow, particularly at the commencement of the term. His involvement as a department head was intense, having an active and influential interest in every aspect of the male and female programmes. This involvement was also confounded by the large part he played in the interscholastic sports programme. If problems related to physical education occurred for staff members, Jim was always called upon to resolve them.

Although he was not forceful in his manner, and seldom impressed other members of staff with his involvement, he obviously had, over the years, made an impression on the staff. Many of them viewed his position as one which carried with it an unusual amount of personal sacrifice in terms of time and energy.

In order to gather relevant data it was obvious from

the outset that Jim was the principal actor in an unfolding drama. It was from him that other actors took their cues and through him that various "plots thickened.". Many unspoken lines of others were voiced by Jim in numerous conversations and various interviews. Jim was anxious to treat my enquiry seriously and attempted to be open and free about his interpretation of the scenarios which developed throughout the period of the research. So open was he at times, that it was difficult to ascertain whether he was forcing impressions which he felt the researcher wanted to receive or whether his interpretation was his own reaction. Whether impressionable information or true reaction, the data gathered were significant in contributing to a presentation of a social world which was a landscape of shifting realities.

Rob Romanuk. Closely aligned with the physical education programme and following Jim's example was Rob Romanuk, the youngest and newest member of the physical education department. Rob had spent several years in a junior high school where he maintained that social control was not only a major component of his job, but the establishment of which was essential to the functioning of the school. Coming into the high school milieu for the first time as a teacher demanded changes in Rob's approach to the maturing senior high school student. This transition was sudden and difficult for him to handle, and throughout the research period Rob confronted this issue. Rob was

interested in providing an interpretation of his social world in a very open way, and freely discussed his adjustment during his period of initiation. Observing Rob and Jim provided a direct comparison between a teacher who was more experienced, with one who was less so, particularly in handling the difficulties faced in compulsory and optional physical education programmes. Coming from a junior high school situation where there were few options available to the teacher in cases of a disciplinary problem, Rob found some difficulty in handling the students with the measures which were available to him at the high school level.

Rob was open about his difficulties and felt free to talk with other staff members about them. Frequent discussions developed in the staffroom, especially with the physical education staff regarding ways in which they went about teaching, preparing and managing the groups of students.

For Rob however, his first year in the high school was an exploratory one. He was involved in the interscholastic programme. He coached football in the fall season and began a wrestling club for students in the winter months. He was active himself in fitness training and religiously ran countless laps each morning before school commenced and lifted weights in the afternoons after school was over.

His loud, enthusiastic and gregarious nature was overbearing for some students, but in most of his teaching situations, he maintained a leadership role of considerable

authority.

Bill Johnston. Bill was the third male member of the physical education department. His major involvement was head football coach, a position he had held for 11 seasons. He also taught one grade 10 physical education class besides being the head of religious studies, a department which also included three other physical education staff (Jim, Rob and Hilary).

Bill was prematurely bald, robust, and as a religion teacher, sensitive. He was able to relate the values of the interscholastic and physical education programmes with conviction and authority, believing in his own approach to physical activity and the Christian life.

Hilary Wells. Hilary was one of two female physical education teachers on staff and was very involved in both the physical education programme and the interscholastic programme. Until the year of the research period she had been involved in volleyball, field hockey and basketball. However, since the previous year she had been deprived of one of her preparatory periods, she presently declined to coach anything except basketball. However, late in the spring she was found coaching a well supported field hockey team during the lunch hours. Her season as coach ran parallel with the male programme but was somewhat prolonged when her team proceeded to the provincial championships which were held during the third weekend of March.

She was an experienced teacher, having taught in other

high schools in the city before coming to St. Ignatius 4 years ago. Although somewhat discontent with the administrator's apparent view of physical education, she felt that the programme offered opportunities to girls which were not afforded by other subject areas.

She regarded her students as young adults and treated them in an appropriate manner. This gained their response and respect. She enjoyed her work and brought a dedicated professional attitude to her classes. She professed to be uninterested in grading the students, but was more eager to employ the department's philosophy of participation and exposure to a large number of activities.

Sue King. Along with Hilary Wells, Sue King made up the female physical education staff. She taught psychology as a second subject. She was a mother of three boys and one girl and had returned to the teaching profession after spending several years as a homemaker. However, she had in her absence, kept abreast of the emerging physical education programmes and fitted into the department at St. Ignatius in an efficient and professional way. She had close ties with the school since her husband had been a physical education teacher at the school before Jim arrived as his replacement when he resigned.

She followed a packed schedule and managed to coach the girl's volleyball team in the Fall term. She, like Hilary, had lost a preparatory period and refused any other extracurricular activity that could have been offered. The

few periods available for preparation were cherished by her and she felt reluctant to volunteer her time when so many staff members could have donated a least some of theirs to school activities.

Sue King, like other members of the physical education department, maintained a highly professional appearance and attitude towards her students. Her experience enabled her to run highly organized, meaningful physical education classes.

Supporting Role Characters

The physical education staff bore most of the responsibility for coaching in the interscholastic programme, although the Junior football team was managed, organized and coached by academic teachers, Steve Benson, and his assistant Alan Edwards. Between them they have gone about their responsibility each Fall season for the past 5 years. Their close liason with the physical education department enabled them to express a considerable amount of support and admiration for the degree of involvement of the department in student activities in the realm of sport.

Other staff members, in general, were supportive of the physical education department and its various functions. Several teachers took turns in policing the evening football and basketball games, and a few teachers confessed to being strong supporters of the interscholastic programme.

In spite of some support for the various aspects of the physical education programme, few took on any

responsibilities in the intramural or interscholastic sports programme, and were even reluctant to operate extracurricular activities associated with their own subject areas. A notable exception was the music teacher who not only directed a stage band involving well over 50 students, but was also the leader of a jazz combo. Both groups demanded a large number of practice hours during the school year and the jazz combo, which placed third in a national school's competition, called for long evening practices. The physical education staff, who could identify with the long hours, were noted to have particular regard for the music teacher's endeavours.

The student body was typical of high school population with a few leaders taking on the responsibilities of scholar, athlete and representative of various student committees and functions. School teams represented a small percentage of the school population, and several students played active roles in more than one activity.

Characters in Authority

The physical education programme affected most people in the school in some form or other. This was particularly true for administration whose responsibility it was to annually authorize the scheduling of classes. Each summer the physical education timetable presented many problems for the principal and his assistants and was a constant source of concern.

The principal confessed a perceived value in a good physical education programme although he was unprepared to ensure that its scheduling be completed before the academic subjects were in place. Jim, as head of department, had attempted to bring to the principal's attention the difficulties of achieving a satisfactory arrangement for the smooth operation of his programme. However, over the years the physical education programme had improved largely due to the cooperation and increased understanding of the principal.

The view that the principal was primarily concerned and preoccupied with the academic standing of his pupils was shared by several members of the staff. He, himself, did not share the view that the programme deserved special attention due to its unique temporal and spatial demands.

The vice-principal, on the other hand, was sympathetic to the unique set of problems involved in the organization and maintenance of a viable physical education programme, and had made several attempts to "lock in" Jim's proposed timetable when it was submitted early in the planning stages. The vice-principal had been a high school coach in the early days of his career and recalled the countless hours of involvement which he, like the present staff, contributed to the welfare of the student body and the school as a whole. He felt that a more liberal approach was needed to facilitate the smooth running of a physical education programme and to provide the physical education

teacher with a more rewarding and pleasant career.

While a certain amount of superficial tolerance existed, several staff members voiced a sense of frustration with the administration for the freehand way of changing the timetable at short notice. Most staff presumed that the changes were made in order to maximize the time academic courses were taught and to minimize the disruptive effect of school functions.

The principal of St. Ignatius played a significant yet distant role, in the physical education programme. It was from him that permission was sought for major changes in programming. Any negotiations regarding staff responsibilities, expansion or deletion of programmes was discussed and justified to him before action was taken. His usual concern, according to Jim, was how any proposed changes would affect the academic courses and their operation.

The Timetable Structure

The school was organized around a five day timetable commencing on Monday with six periods, Tuesday with five periods, and thereafter alternating for the rest of the week. This enabled each class to be taught four times each week. However, the timetable changed frequently and designated classes were changed with other classes, which meant that the organization of a three week unit could be seriously hampered by sudden timetable alterations.

A physical education course typically consisted of approximately three week units which involved from 9 to 12 lessons on a particular topic. The nature of the topic depended to a large extent on the time of year. In the Fall, for example, the outside fields were used for soccer, football and golf, whereas hockey, skating and basketball were confined to the winter when outside activities were impossible.

Generally, in the Physical Education 20 and 30 courses, examinations were held after each unit had been taught, thus eliminating an accumulation of material to be examined at the end of a semester. As well as a practical exposure to the skills involved in a particular unit, students were expected to study class handouts which contained general and some specific information about the activity. The rigour of examinations increased over the three levels of courses so that by the time the student had experienced Physical Education 30 he or she was well prepared for university entrance.

The physical education programme consisted of three levels progressing from a half year compulsory Physical Education 10 to a full year optional course in grade 12. Students entering into their first year as senior high school students were compelled to take a half year course in physical education, at the end of which compulsory physical education ceased. Although many students requested a full year course in grade 10, they had to wait until they entered

grade 11 before continuing their interests.

Grade 11 students were able to take the Physical Education 20 programme of which there were three classes offered for both boys and girls. The total number of students registered in a Physical Education 20 programme, in the year of the research, was approximately 150 out of a total grade 11 student population of 320.

The reduction of physical education offerings was even more significant in grade 12 where two classes of Physical Education 30 were offered for males and females which accommodated 80 out of a possible 283 students.

Students in the Physical Education 10 programme had no choice in taking physical education, but students entering Physical Education 20 were students who had chosen physical education as a credit course. A more stringent selection was made when the student entered the grade 12 programme. In a screening process, physical education staff and administration recommended or rejected, students whom they felt would or would not benefit from the course. It appeared that argument, pleading and standing ground was part of the procedure. The end result of such a procedure was that 2 classes of 24 students were chosen on the male and female sides on the basis of their suitability and potential to benefit from such an offering. However, Jim pointed out that often students were unsuited to the course or the types of students in the course were "slipped" through the screening device and were a disruptive force within the class.

Hopefully it has been clearly demonstrated that physical education is tightly confined to a relatively small number of students especially at the graduation end of their high school careers. With such an emphasis on reduced numbers and high selectivity, student participation in physical activity was extremely low compared to the students who demonstrated a genuine interest in such pursuits.

Planning the Sites

Each spring Jim as head of department evaluated his programme in terms of problem areas and units which ran well. He also evaluated the use which was made of internal and external facilities. The selection and adequacy of using external facilities, such as curling rinks, swimming pools and skating arenas, must be decided upon early in the spring in order that such facilities may be booked for school use at the appropriate times during the next academic year.

By the spring the major sports had been completed and inventories of equipment were taken. Track and field began a few short weeks before the early wind down of school took over. It was during such a time that the physical education staff became involved in the evaluation of the past year and the preparation for the long summer break ahead of them. It was also the time for consideration of the upcoming year. Special requests were made by the coaches to attend training camps, conferences related to physical education and interschool sports. Many staff felt the need to "recharge"

their spirits with visits to other provinces or to sports clinics of special interest to them.

Spring time was also the time for decisions regarding whether staff members would take on, or continue with, responsibilities related to the coaching of teams. Such commitments enabled the administrators to provide preparation periods to those staff members who volunteered their time in extracurricular activities.

Once such a commitment had been made, not only could a master timetable be put into operation, but the physical education staff could begin to appropriate various times to each unit to be taught in the new year. A final version of the physical education plan was made available to the staff on the first day of the new academic year because it was their experience that "anything could happen" over the summer holidays when the administration were free to change the timetable. The plan afforded information concerning what teachers were responsible for what content. It also provided the location, when and for how long specific units lasted. Such a yearly plan ensured that facility use was coordinated and that appropriate units took place at appropriate times of the year. In addition it ensured that on occasions when three classes took physical education at the same time there was no clash through misunderstanding.

Staff Responsibilities

During the year of the research period the physical

Table 2 Physical Education Department Assignments

Scheduled Classes

P.Ed. 10 Boys (Half Year Course)

1. Second Semester
2. Both Semesters
3. Both Semesters

Rob Romanuk
Rob Romanuk
Bill Johnston

Total 5 (Half Courses)

P.Ed. 10 Girls (Half Year Course)

1. Both Semesters
2. Both Semesters
3. Both Semesters

Sue King
Hillary Wells
Hillary Wells

Total 6 (Half Courses)

P.Ed. 20 Boys (Full Year Courses)

1. Full Year
2. Full Year
3. Full Year
4. Full Year

Jim Freeman
Jim Freeman
Rob Romanuk
Rob Romanuk

Total 4 (Full Courses)

P.Ed. 20 Girls (Full Year Courses)

1. Full Year
2. Full Year
3. Full Year

Sue King
Sue King
Hilary Wells

Total 3 (Full Courses)

P.Ed. 30 Boys (Full Year Courses)

1. Full Year
2. Full Year

Jim Freeman
Jim Freeman

Total 2 (Full Courses)

P.Ed. 30 Girls (Full Year Courses)

1. Full Year
2. Full Year

Hilary Wells
Sue King

Total 2 (Full Courses)

education offerings were as follows:

Sue King said that she and Hilary Wells took turns in teaching two grade 10 blocks. In the year of the research it fell on Hilary to teach two classes while Sue took one group of grade 10 students. The reverse occurred in the grade 11 classes. Obviously a workable arrangement had been reached between the two female teachers.

With the men, the teaching responsibilities seemed less equal and more rigid. Rob took the grade 10 classes with Bill Johnston, and taught one group of grade 11's. Jim Freeman taught the two grade 12 classes and one grade 11 class. Although it appeared that as head of department Jim should have felt that teaching pre-university students was a status symbol, he would not admit to such a suggestion, and confessed that he would have liked an opportunity to have taught grade 10 students once more.

The teaching responsibilities were laid down before the staff broke for summer recess, and, subject to change, provided the staff with their responsibilities for the new year when they returned to a new group of students. Although little preparation was done in the summer holidays, the designation of responsibility provided the teacher with added information which, if he felt so inclined, would help to prepare for the new academic year. In the case of Rob Romanuk who had joined the staff at the commencement of the new year, the teaching responsibilities provided him with the necessary information required for preparation of

materials for his first classes. However, for the rest of the physical education staff, their experience and previous years of preparation reduced the necessity of lesson planning.

Besides their teaching assignments in physical education, each member of the department also taught in the academic subject area. All physical education staff taught religion, with the exception of Sue King who taught psychology. In addition to a full time teaching load comparable to the rest of the academic staff, the physical education teachers also took on a coaching responsibility as mentioned previously.

In spite of their active interest in sports during the school day no physical education staff, with the exception of Hilary who was involved in curling, was able to fit in a regular schedule of activity for themselves during the school year. As soon as the basketball season closed for Jim, he immediately joined a local basketball team. He was unable to pursue such an activity during the winter months because of his obvious commitment to his school team. Similarly, Sue King was able to play golf during the summer. Even if the sport was available in the winter she was too occupied with school responsibilities to enjoy her own pursuits.

During the school year, the members of the physical education department were well organized even when it appeared that the facilities or the timetable would not

allow the smooth functioning of physical education instruction. There was a substantial amount of interchange between the physical education teachers as they came and departed from the staffroom. At times some male and female classes were amalgamated and teachers were merged into a team teaching situation. Some occasions found two classes using the same equipment or facility consecutively and in such cases the first group would leave apparatus or equipment ready for the next class to use.

The male staff who taught skating and a form of ice hockey, arranged to leave a bag of pucks and sticks behind one of the sofas in the staffroom. It was in this part of the staffroom that physical education staff would exchange operational information among themselves during the change over period between classes.

Such examples serve to illustrate the constant interchange which staff enjoyed among themselves. A spirit of cooperation and interest in the welfare of the department seemed to have been demonstrated through such gestures as mentioned above and contributed to the congenial atmosphere which prevailed among the physical education staff.

The School Year

The physical education programme commenced with opening of the school in September, and quickly gathered momentum as the first days of the first week drew to a close. The interscholastic football team was quickly organized and the

practices got underway on the first afternoon. The girl's volleyball team practices also commenced early in the term, and "a business as usual" atmosphere existed for the physical education department.

Regular, but shortened, classes began on the second day and by the end of the first week regular classes were established. Physical education programming in the Fall consisted mainly of outdoor games such as soccer, flag football and golf for the boys, while the girls concentrated on tennis.

By the end of October most classes were forced indoors by the cool weather, however, during the research year the weather was uncooperative at the beginning of the term when it rained very heavily. Later in the school term the weather improved, but by such time the set programme called for indoor sports such as volleyball, and later, basketball. Similarly, in the spring the aerobics unit which Jim was teaching, called for an outdoor session for a 12 minute test run. This requirement was postponed for one week because an unexpected snow fall had occurred.

The winter months, up to the end of January provided ample time for badminton and social dance. Lectures were offered in some courses such as golf and volleyball officiating, while grade 12 students were taught basic prevention and care of athletic injuries. With a short Christmas holiday and a basketball season well underway the physical education teacher's responsibility became very

demanding.

Towards the end of term, St. Ignatius's students, unlike most students, spent a week sitting formal examinations before a short Christmas recess. After school resumed in January, barely a month remained before students in grade 10 changed classes to commence a new semester with a new set of courses.

The second semester offered students in grade 10 more or less a repeat of the material covered by the grade 10 classes of the first semester. For grade 11 and 12 classes the Physical Education 20 and 30 classes continued for the full year and enabled the staff to plan a complete year of units in various activities.

The grade 11 students during February and March were offered such activities as wrestling and gymnastics for the boys, while the girls were exposed to swimming, badminton and gymnastics. Grade 12 students were introduced to curling at a local curling rink. This was followed by a unit of social dance before the second examination which was held during the third week of March.

After the spring break most of the classes in physical education attempted to prepare the students for participation in track and field activities by offering a unit of fitness training in some form.

By the end of April the weather usually permitted the classes to once more go out of doors, and it was during this time that early preparation for summer activities took

place. Tennis resumed and track and field activities were taught during physical education classes. Preparation for interscholastic competition in track and field commanded the attention of the physical education staff. This intense season was supported by the physical education staff but was an unsettled activity because of its placement in the school year. Students realized that soon after the track meets had been run it would be summer holidays and, with the exception of a few athletes, no opportunities existed for more athletic activity. The season was a short lived one and extensive preparation seemed unjustified.

One of the time consuming and important facets of the Physical Education 30 programme was under taken during the spring term in the form of an outdoor education trip organized to run for 4 days in a remote campsite, approximately 80 km. west of the city.

The camping expedition required considerable planning and the services of at least three members of staff for the duration of the camp, including part of their weekend. The week before the outing the Physical Education 30 classes used their physical education periods to carefully plan the expedition. Small groups of male and female students were arranged to prepare a list of equipment necessary for survival in the bush, in addition to preparing a menu and a shopping list of supplies.

Two consecutive weekends were used to accommodate the two Physical Education 30 classes of 40 boys and girls. The

camp was held during the second and third weekend of May and lasted from Wednesday, when the party departed from the school, to Saturday evening when they returned.

CHAPTER VI

THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHER

Introduction

In this chapter an attempt is made to account for the dimensions of the position of the head of the physical education department at St. Ignatius High School. Such dimensions and boundaries are defined in terms of Jim Freeman's teaching ideology, and his "operational philosophy" (Strauss quoted in Sharp and Green:1974:69).

Both concepts will be utilized to form a framework upon which the physical education teacher's words and actions can be meaningfully attached, and are defined by Sharp and Green in the following manner: First the definition of an ideology is as follows: Ideology (as used in this research project), refers to the broad recognition and definition of related beliefs, ideas, skills and techniques needed to master the tasks of teaching and ways of implementing them. Second, the term operational philosophy borrowed from Strauss (1964) refers to the teacher's perspective which in this study refers to the "set of beliefs and practices which emerge when social actors in an organization confront specific problems in their situation".

The Physical Education Teacher's Role As Coach

Jim Freeman's day commenced at six a.m. when he arose to drive to school with Rob Romanuk. They both lived in a



FIGURE 3. PHYSICAL EDUCATION CLASSES - MASS INSTRUCTION RATHER THAN INDIVIDUAL TUITION.



FIGURE 4. AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS UNDER IDEAL CONDITIONS.

suburb some twenty minutes from the school, and during the winter months it was dark when they left home in the morning and often dark when they arrived home at night.

By the time I arrived at the school on most mornings Jim had already been at work preparing for an hour and a half. In the morning he always appeared composed and with clean, fresh physical education clothes and well groomed hair. He set a standard of appearance that was an example for his staff. At the beginning of the year Jim appeared in a white artex shirt, blue track pants and new running shoes with the latest waffle sole, and I noticed each member of the physical education staff was professionally attired, each with a variety of training suits and footwear for different occasions.

Jim's immaculate appearance was accompanied by a quiet, confident and concerned nature, which he was able to maintain throughout the school day. There were obvious exceptions to that state. On one occasion, during the football season he found it most difficult to maintain that even keel. The football team had been on the field three and a half hours and rain had been falling all day. All the players were drenched and muddy, and Jim, who had not been involved in a major coaching role, stood on the practice field wet, chilled and anxiously waiting for the final drill to be completed. On this occasion he expressed a wish to get home, not wanting to establish a pattern of returning home late at that particular stage of the inter-scholastic

season.

Normally, Jim maintained control over his situation, and through 10 years of teaching in the same school he had developed sufficient knowledge in all areas of his programme to be conscious of the shortcomings and to be able to compensate for them.

Jim had, over the years, prepared himself as a football coach although he had never played organised high school or college football. While his experience was limited to coaching the game, he was aware of both its benefits and the problems associated with it. He admitted after a game that he shuddered when a head-on tackle was made but accepted it as part of the game.

His assignment involved coaching a specialty team which did not demand the intricate knowledge with which the offensive and defensive line coaches had to contend. Jim was content with his assignment but expressed the hope that next year he would be relieved of that responsibility. The football assignment coupled with his position as senior basketball coach involved him with after school and before school activities from September to March, and after 10 years he had begun to feel that his contribution was most effectively made in basketball, not football. In addition, it was important to spend some time with his young family.

Jim's basketball responsibilities which commenced in the middle of November, were preceded by several hours of preparation of practice and game schedules. In fact Jim

recalled the 'cheap shot' his wife took at him while preparing his schedules.

I had been up marking until 1 a.m. for a couple of nights this week, and my wife who is a little put out by this says - what's all the preparation for? You'll probably only win a couple of games anyhow.

In spite of this "tongue in cheek" remark, Jim was dedicated to the sport and strove to run his basketball team like a well oiled machine. It was in the environment of an afterschool practice that Jim could demand and maintain full control of the situation. These practice sessions were held behind locked doors, a measure which prevented people from wandering in and out during the workout.

At the commencement of each practice and each lesson Jim was careful to take sufficient time to define the situation for his class. In the case of the basketball team at their first practice he outlined what lay ahead for them. In the following three weeks a major tournament was to be held in another city. Although the team was unprepared, skill-wise, at the early part of the season, Jim was eager to ensure that their class fitness level improved to accommodate the pressures of a three day tournament. His practices were thorough and he was careful at the early sessions to time each activity. He had planned to establish how many repetitions and what duration of various skills should be included in the workouts in order to realistically maintain a strict schedule. Jim was careful in defining the situation for his team which seemed to contribute to his

control of the session. In the practices he had little need to exercise any motivational devices. The students assembled in his practice sessions were those who were competitively oriented towards making the team and drew on any natural talent they possessed to impress Jim that they were worth his attention. Jim, in the coaching of competitive sport, was no longer alienated from the values he has learned to cherish as he sometimes was in the teaching situation.

Here in the coaching situation things are a little better, what youv'e got is a small dedicated group of guys who feel they have something to contribute to the school.

It was in the coaching situation that he could effectively possess a good measure of the control he desired. Jim enjoyed a sense of autonomy:

What you have out there (the basketball court) is the best-skilled kids in the school, and on top of that they want to be there. Obviously, there are a few good players around the school who'd rather be hanging out some place else . . . but I have the best players for my team right there . . . and I can do something with them.

This self-determination which Jim enjoyed was strengthened by the will to produce a unit of boys who previously had not worked together. This situation was an opportunity to develop good team work which Jim considered an obvious prerequisite for success in the league, and it was the coach who developed such team coordination. Besides the need to show well in the league there seemed to be no other pressure on Jim. He obviously enjoyed the competitiveness of playing his controlled unit against similar high school teams in the

league, and it was from such friendly competitiveness that Jim received many of his rewards.

Jim and the junior basketball coach were responsible for screening the players who appeared at the tryout sessions at the beginning of the season. It was thus a screening device that enabled Jim to select, and have on his team, those boys to whom he best related. The early selection presented Jim with some problems during the research year, when some junior team members expressed their disapproval of being potential senior teams starters. In fact they refused to play for the senior team because they felt that it would lose most of its games anyhow. For them it was a case of staying junior and playing out their year as such, on a team whose potential to win was far greater. Jim was annoyed at this attitude and protested that if they were the best players in the school they should play for the best team, no matter what the outcome.

A group consisting of Bob Romanuk, the junior coach, and myself joined Jim in his office after this practice. He was obviously upset by the reaction of the junior boys:

Damn it, if they are the best kids they should be on the best team to represent the school. . . . I'll cut the lot, I'm not putting up with that crap.

He put his winter jacket over his tracksuit , grabbed his clipboard and bag, and we all followed him out of the office and across the floor to one of the exits facing the car park. As we crossed the floor he shouted to the junior coach who was left standing there:

I'll phone you tonight I've got to get home to get supper and go to practice. (Lowering his voice and directing his attention to me he said) These damn things need time, and I just have to get home and have a bite to eat before going to practice.

Finally, after phoning the junior coach later that night Jim placed a list of the proposed 12 team members on his office door the next morning. It included the junior members on the senior basketball team.

Later in the week I asked him how he managed to resolve the matter. He replied:

Well, I drove home and said to myself, I am just going to put the list up and if I have any arguments I will go to the principal and tell him about their attitude. . . . Anyway it didn't work out like that - I just put the list up and to my amazement there was no reaction.

After the beginning of the season when the team had settled down into regular practice Jim, although recognizing the talent in his team, was noncommittal about their potential. He perhaps secretly hoped that this year would be a highly successful one, but realistically the competition from other schools, who were much larger, would reduce the chances of producing a championship team. In fact as things turned out, the season was not the most successful one he had coached.

The problem is I get one good player a year, what I need is a year when they all come in at one time. Boy, the kids who have gone through here over the years . . . could I ever have had a good team? But that's the the problem in a small school.

By the end of February the playoffs were held and the boy's team was eliminated and the primary attention at the school was devoted to the the girls. Hilary Wells had led her team through the city play offs and eventually was chosen from the city to play in the provincial tournament.

The Physical Education Teacher's Role As Teacher

Jim made noble attempts to provide an ideal situation for his physical education classes. Most of those which I was able to observe were well planned, conducted and meaningful to the participants. For Jim the physical education class was a most important facet of his job. He was involved in the teaching of four classes of physical education with each being offered at two different levels. This interest in the area of physical education was sincere and he admitted:

I need to be on top of things and I want to know this for sure. I really try to have as many things organized as best I can, to the point that I spend two weeks of my summer holidays back here organizing.

Jim stressed that the physical education class provided him with a great opportunity to teach social values such as loyalty and cooperation, as well as personal values which included self confidence, cordiality and an ability to handle one's own problems. The setting of a physical education class was more conducive for Jim than the academic setting of a mathematics or English class. It was almost:

A mandatory thing that instructors achieve cooperation and leadership qualities from the student. Getting the student finally to recognize his own limitations, the abilities of others and their own, and how they fit into that situation is an ongoing and continual effort.

Organization of Physical Education Classes

Jim's teaching organization is very much like his organization for coaching. He was keen to establish early in the semester the type of response he wished from his students. This early training started in Grade 11, when each student was assigned a number corresponding to that painted on the floor at the stage end of the gym. A simple command of "Get to your numbers?" brought an immediate response from the class who quickly lined up on their respective number. Jim quickly recorded any missing members and while the students stood there he outlined what was expected of them. During most of the classes which were observed, students would enter the gymnasium before the class and begin to prepare the equipment and bring out of storage small apparatus in readiness for the activity. Occasionally Jim commented on the way they erected large apparatus like volleyball nets and poles. Sometimes his comments were immersed in criticism:

How come you have all the winders on the one court and no winders on this court? (A row of sniggers go along the line of students); Thats bright! But we don't have time to alter them now, but be more careful in future!

Often Jim would busy himself at the beginning of a class with "trivia" such as tightening a badminton net, exchanging

a racquet or replacing a shuttlecock, ensuring at all times that his students benefitted from the best equipment that was available.

He admitted early in the research period that his life was filled with such time consuming details, on top of which was "the administrative trivia involved in physical education." At times the pace caused Jim to reflect, and often he confided in his friend the football coach.

I talk to Bill you know, and I say to him I always seem to be flying by the seat of my pants around here, but then I wonder whether I would like it any other way. I think it is part of my personality, and I need that kind of thing to keep busy and to be kept up, but sometimes, I wish it wasn't so hectic.

Jim's insistence on maintaining an orderly life at least in the class situation was often brought forward in the passing conversations of everyday life.

I have to keep my class in shape all the time, they have got to be a good experience for the students, that's where I spend most of my time in spite of all the things I have to do, and if I ever lose that, I am going to wake up in the morning and not want to go to work because I have lost control.

From the observations made it was clear that Jim insisted on well controlled and carefully planned class activities. Activities such as flag football in the Fall, demonstrated Jim's knowledge not only of the game but of its skill requirements and of the students who could fulfill such demands. Such considerations were operationalized to ensure that groups chosen in the class to represent teams were evenly matched to prevent a loss of interest and to create

keen competition when an in-class tournament was held. When the tournament eventuated, the teams were evenly matched and an enjoyable and rewarding experience was provided for the students.

Similar experiences were observed in the indoor programme which involved basketball and badminton instruction. The latter was an example of the acquired knowledge and careful planning resulting from over the 10 years of experience which Jim had built-up at the school. In the badminton unit, which lasted for three weeks in November, Jim's main problem was to curb the enthusiasm of his class, and direct some kind of instruction which would not only contribute to their enjoyment of the game but facilitate a growth in their knowledge in preparation for the unit test at its conclusion.

Jim's badminton classes were an ideal size with enough groups to play doubles at several courts which had been arranged in the large gym. Each student had a racquet and once the demonstration was over, each boy attended to his development of the newly acquired skills. After exposing the class to basic skills and essential rules of the game, a play off ladder was drawn up and each player's name was placed on it. After the instructional period was over each student met one of his class mates in an attempt to gain a better position on the ladder. Jim was pleased with the way his students approached the activity and their satisfaction was frequently registered by the zeal with which their

approach was made. Such attention to detail was also applied in the commencement of the basketball unit. Jim sat his class down and clearly laid out the structure of the upcoming instruction in basketball. There were enough balls in the ball carrier for each 2 boys to share one ball, in order that a maximal time would be spent practising ball skills.

Jim had also noted the variable height of the class and had arranged 4 teams which included a variety of players whose height and skill were evenly distributed among the teams. The gym was designed to play one game on a competition court, (used by the school teams) or two games across the gym, which of course was chosen for the class purpose. Such an arrangement allowed the members of each team to practise their skills at a basket assigned to them.

The badminton unit like the basketball unit was very close to the ideal situation which Jim strove to achieve. The numbers of students in the classes were controlled, and the enrollment was seldom over 24. The activities were suitable for the age group and varied to offer an ever changing spectrum of motivational aids to the staff. These attributes together with Jim's careful employment of past experiences brought the realization of an ideal situation closer to fulfillment.

It would seem that the degree of control which Jim possessed over his programme was related to the amount of success which he received with his classes in physical

education. However, the acquisition of such control over the development of the total programme was not easy to achieve.

He still remained unsatisfied with the lack of support for the outdoor education programme and looked enviously at the public school board with their full time advisors. Each year he pleaded with his administration to permit an extra day of school to adequately run his proposed camping trip. Each year he was presented with the task of organizing the trip and negotiating for the members of staff who were prepared to participate and for the substitute teachers their absence would necessitate. The degree of speculation associated with the planning and negotiating was a factor which Jim would have preferred to have circumvented. However, such an evasion was impossible while the board provided no support for this project. Furthermore, Jim felt that without the blessing of the school board proper recognition would not be given to the outdoor education offering. Both factors were in opposition to the manner in which Jim functioned and were a cause of considerable frustration for him.

Justifying The Programme

In spite of the "administrative trivia" between classes, Jim always appeared calm and collected in the class setting. Often it seemed that the class provided the shelter from the other affairs to which Jim had to attend. He excelled at presenting a well organized class setting, the

necessary equipment was always available, the timing of events was always just right, and the instruction and demonstration periods were just sufficient. Theoretical classes were well prepared with numerous handouts which again enabled Jim to define his expectancies of the students in his physical education classes. Knowing the content of handouts would have ensured the student of an excellent grade in the course. Often the students did not comprehend this fact, and a thorough preparation was not made. Jim often reminded the students of the precise areas of the course that would be examined, but several students failed to absorb such cues and consequently did poorly on the unit.

His constant effort to make the classes an ideal learning situation was also crossed with efforts to justify the programme of physical education as a legitimate area of study on a level with other courses in school curriculum. After all, physical education courses were recognized as optional courses for university entrance and as such were expected to attain certain academic standards. Jim recalled serious setbacks in the progress of the development of the Physical Education 20 and 30 options that are now fully established and operating in the school system. Apparently various criticisms of discrimination were laid against Jim in the early days of the Physical Education 30 programme. He was accused of attracting "natural athletes" to his classes who, in the rest of their school activities, were virtually dropouts and troublemakers. Such criticisms were remedied by

Jim's demand for a selection committee, composed of the principal, counsellors and male and female physical education staff, to select suitable students to benefit from a Physical Education 30 class.

Jim also identified early staff suspicions that first, physical education classes, especially Physical Education 30, were of dubious academic content and second, that it was claimed a "privilege" to be considered for such a course. In order to allay such suspicions and finally to dispel them, Jim worked on the principal and heads of departments. His first efforts were to educate the principal regarding the graded content of his physical education programme.

I went to Mr. McIntosh and explained to him what we were trying to do. When the Physical Education 30 programme came in I tried to tell him what it involved.

He attempted to demonstrate that academic content of the physical education programme at the secondary school level could become increasingly complex as the student graduated from one grade to another until eventually he attained university entrance standards. Along with the numerous demands which high school education is supposed to meet, Jim stressed that the academic rigours of physical education could also possess academic qualities comparable to other university entrance courses.

You know a lot of teachers just think it is another 'play' course. They don't seem to understand that there's a graded, step-by-step course leading to university entrance. . . . We had to write up our programme here a few years back because "down town" (the school board) had been asked by the university

what we did to justify credit for "phys. ed."

He was accused of discriminating on the basis of skill. The root of the problem in the introduction of Physical Education 30 stemmed from the fact that staff did not know what went on in the programme.

To the staff the whole thing to them is 'Fizz Ed.' They have no idea that there is a difference between 10, 20 and 30 and that is something I cleared up in a staff meeting too. There is just as much difference as there is between Math 10, 20, 30. There is a sequence being offered and a higher expectation of the students.

It is not surprizing to view Jim as a teacher in full defense of the legitimacy of his programme and acutely aware of any criticism of it. He attempted also to demonstrate a sincerity to the staff and principal of his commitment to the total physical education programme on several fronts, ranging from athletic to academic endeavour, and from personal to societal needs. In addition to this educational programme aimed at the principal and staff, in general, Jim was also willing to confront the heads of departments on several occasions when major misunderstandings erupted. Such an occasion arose when requests to change the timetable were made. A curling class was proposed by the physical education department as part of the Physical Education 30 programme. To arrange such a unit required that some minor timetable change be made. Such requests to change the timetable was met by opposition from various members of the "academic" staff. The occurrence developed into another opportunity for

Jim to interact face-to-face with a group of influential staff members to reduce their lack of understanding. This was successfully achieved and the curling classes were maintained.

Jim also recalled a similar confrontation with the administration when seeking time off for his staff to take a camping trip in the spring.

Each year we have to negotiate with the administration to get Wednesday, Thursday and Friday off to take a four day outdoor session. If Wednesday is rejected it means that we do not arrive home until Sunday, and after four days in the bush you need a rest before returning to school on Monday.

The difficulty lay mainly in the fact that the Separate School Board was not supportive of the outdoor programme. However, the outdoor education camping experience took place on a site which had recently been acquired by the Separate school board for the purposes of providing suitable outdoor facilities for educational groups. Unfortunately, the school board did not share in the concerns and difficulties which the physical education staff experienced in arranging the necessary time off. Administration and school board alike had failed to supply any financial relief for the cost of substitute teachers to replace staff who had volunteered to supervise the school camping trip. Students were called upon to pay the substitute teachers who replaced those staff members who were, by some, considered "to be having a good time." However, when Jim invited staff to participate in his camping programme there was a negative response.

These examples illustrate the possible factors which have contributed to Jim's concern for projecting an image of physical education which legitimized the role played by the staff and the programme in the academic setting of St. Ignatius.

Jim Freeman As Religious Education Teacher

Jim enjoyed his time out of the physical education setting, although the issues and problems often followed him to the classroom door and were there upon his return to the physical education world. For 50 minutes periods, four times a week Jim was able to address himself to religious studies and attempt to come to grips with religious and moral issues of everyday life. Other members who taught religion felt that it was more of an imposition than anything else. One particular teacher noted that a large percentage (80%) of those persons who taught physical education also taught religion because "the administration considered that the physical education staff were able to get along with the kids easier". That person also added that it is because it is aligned with the timetable requirements. "They don't have anybody to teach religion . . . and I'd say there is not another physical education class for them to teach."

Jim did not agree with this assessment. Consistent with his personal philosophy he believed the job of teaching physical education, religious studies, or whatever, was a professional commitment which deserved one's full effort and

attention. Such an attitude opposed the attitude that a religion assignment was the "bottom-of-the-barrel" consideration for physical education teachers who had nothing else to do. Jim felt that religion was a "tough course to teach", and preparation courses in theology and philosophy would benefit any teacher entering this field.

Jim protected his area very firmly and expressed his loyalty to his professional and personal religious endeavours. He recalled the number of courses that he had taken and the various in-service courses that he had attended, all of which he had found most rewarding. He had noted the number of his physical education colleagues who had become religious study teachers, but to what this was attributed, he was unsure.

He conducted his religion classes in much the same way as his physical education classes. Perhaps the preparation was taken from last year's course, but the enthusiasm forwarded by Jim was similar to that of his activity classes. The acceptance of such a course temporarily allowed Jim the freedom from the responsibilities of head of department, and provided him with an opportunity to morally justify his existence in the school programme. He felt that as a person and teacher, he was able to offer something which was usefully related to the student's personal spiritual growth and development.

The Physical Education Teacher's Viewpoint

Jim Freeman expressed a large number of feelings regarding his position and that of others on the staff over the research period. To summarize some of the major points in Jim's viewpoint is both relevant and enlightening. It provides a better understanding of the role of the physical education teacher in a modern high school.

Jim had taught at the school for 10 years and was chosen to succeed by his predecessor who felt that Jim was the right man for the position:

Jim was a super kid and was going to be outstanding and I was right, because he is, and he is still there of course and quite happy, of course like most of us he gets pissed off once in a while.

For Jim it was no surprise that he had endured at the same school for 10 years:

I like the school and the philosophy of the school is suitable to me. Moreover, I like the staff and the structure and that is important. I also like the structure of the curriculum which this school offers. Some people ask me why I have not moved, but I reply it is like a marriage if you don't work at it, you get into a rut.

Jim attempted to maintain a high standard, and by so doing set an example which he hoped his staff would follow. He was pleased with his staff and felt that the girls' physical education programme was good, due to the worthy efforts of the female staff.

He maintained a close contact with his female staff as well as the male members, although few physical education staff meetings were held. Most of the issues and problems

were discussed over a cup of coffee during a preparation period or a lunch time break. (Only one physical education staff meeting which discussed physical education policy was held over the research period of the research.)

Each member's responsibility in the physical education department was clearly described by the timetable assignments, but each member naturally clarified his or her role with even greater precision.

Jim endeavoured to be well organized and to define his role as teacher and coach. He was also able to define role conflicts which he faced in his position:

You look at our intramural programme and it is not very good, in fact it is down right poor, and that's my responsibility. Then again some people need an outlet like coaching . . . a lot of staff like to coach and I am the same.

Jim was caught between the need to coach and the responsibility of the intramural programme which brought a different kind of satisfaction. But he was:

Not willing to give up coaching basketball to spend it doing that kind of work . . . I do not get enough out of intramural organization, perhaps I would if I got my teeth stuck into it, but I want to feel good about what I am doing, and basketball coaching fulfills that desire.

For Jim the intramural issues were a source of conflict, but he admitted "the way I have set my priorities, there's bound to be some conflict". He had hoped for more staff help but that was not satisfied, and consequently the intramural programme suffered.

Jim admitted that a physical education job was oftentimes the type of job that could have best been accomplished by single men and women. He cited several instances where physical education male teachers had immersed themselves totally into the demands of a programme with the result that they became separated or divorced. That kind of price Jim was unwilling to pay, but sometimes he felt that he could have done a better job if he didn't have to go home.

The family causes you to rush more, and things that you get really involved in have to be cut. But you also have to look at it the other way, and that is that this job takes away from your family life, too.

Jim's involvement in physical education had increased along with his understanding of the subject area. This understanding was not necessarily confined to specific knowledge regarding the teaching of skills, but extended to the general issues regarding participation in sport and the motivation of those who were not involved. Jim felt that he had become more convinced of the benefits of activity, but realized a frustration when he attempted to encourage his own staff to get involved.

Everyone hears participation, knows what they are saying, couldn't agree more, but to get them to act! I think to get them to act is a societal problem, and that's where the difficulties of physical education lies. That's where our job really lies now.

Jim's other views besides the welfare of staff were explored and the data uncovered a development of tolerance

with staff in general. As discussed previously, the role of physical education was often misunderstood by academic staff and principal alike. Jim felt also that he was mistrusted when confronted by teachers who demanded Jim to explain the poor behaviour and performance of his athletes who had been favoured with entry into the new Physical Education 30. Jim generously viewed the hostility towards him as misunderstanding on the part of the staff. The solution for him was to commence an educational campaign to explain the purpose, content and rationale of such courses as Physical Education 30. His tolerant nature helped to restore staff confidence in his role as physical education teacher. Although the nature of the relationship was both professional and amiable, Jim had certain reservations about their willingness to assist in the difficult programmes which he wished to operate. The camping programme was a prime example of his feelings:

I spoke to the staff and you know we can use help on those things (outdoor education), and we have the expertise on the staff here. You invite them to come along, which would reduce my load, and there is never any response . . . there are people here who are knowledgeable in many areas, but it's something they'd rather do on their own. I think you have to get out there and live the thing, it is hard, but a tremendously rewarding experience.

Jim's effort in recognizing a problem, planning a solution and putting a measure into effect to reduce that problem, had been constant over the development of his physical education programme. Jim identified considerable changes that had occurred over the period, most of which

took place about 4-5 years before. Jim suggested that the research period was one of several years which did not highlight major changes; such developments would have been noticeable in those earlier years. Such changes were attributed, by Jim, to his establishment of the effort to inform, explain and demonstrate the objectives and role of physical education and athletics in the school.

The reasons for the differences on the last few years are largely due to Mr. McIntosh (the principal) who is becoming more and more aware of what we are doing and how we are doing it. I have invited him to come into our classes, come out to our games and see more, and he has responded.

Jim realized that changes are effected by means of soliciting the support of the principal. Once this had been secured, directed effort was applied to the establishment of those changes which, for Jim, contributed to the credibility of the physical education programme. This effort did not cease for Jim who persistently attempted to improve the many facets of the courses, because he felt that many of the units needed updating with new approaches and different emphases.

For Jim the accomplishment of change was performed through a process of request and negotiation with the administration. He considered his success favourable, and attributed much of it to the willingness of the principal.

Generally, Jim's view of the staff was a tolerant one, and few occasions arose during the research period when he felt strongly enough about an issue to be critical towards

them. There were some notable releases of frustration regarding certain aspects of teacher's complacency towards the student's experience. The vice principal also recognized the complacency among some of the staff members and compared them to the physical education staff:

I think the "phys. ed." people especially the ones we have here are a different breed, and they go into that (physical education) because they enjoy that kind of thing. I feel that our "phys. ed." people are really dedicated, I think much more dedicated than some of our other subject area teachers, perhaps I shouldn't say that, but I feel that way.

Duties and Time Constraints

From the early days of the study I was struck by the constant demand made upon the role of a head of department in physical education. In fact data demonstrated Jim's immediate commitment from the day school opened. The principal had called a staff meeting but Jim could not be there because he was attending to the ordering of physical education uniforms which had apparently carried over from the previous year's business. This set a pattern which was followed for the first month of the new term. Jim was inaccessible, I found it most difficult to get close to him, and chose to view from a distance and make as many observations as I could. During the early days of term Jim rushed from class to class and if there were "prep" periods or spares he was busy checking out equipment, assigning lockers or returning phone calls. The job was extremely involving and he seemed to have very little time to stop and collect his thoughts. However, as time went by Jim became

more relaxed, and the unrelenting list of urgent but minor problems diminished somewhat and I was able to approach him without feeling that his mind was elsewhere on a mission of greater importance. Even so, we were interrupted on several occasions when we sat in the staffroom discussing various problems that I had posed. I began to change my mind about the role of the physical education teacher from a teacher who always had a busy start to the school year to a central figure who was always in demand throughout the school year. Both assessments were partly correct.

The commencement of the school year was extremely demanding on most teachers, but more so for a teacher who contended with many of the uncertainties of class sizes, teaching assignments, who was a head of department, assistant football coach, plus equipment manager to boot. The demands were extremely taxing and even though a tailing off of contingencies were noted, the physical education position was an extremely busy one.

This lack of time from which Jim continually suffered was almost a syndrome. He was curiously aware of the wise use he should make of brief periods before classes and during the lunch breaks. He was also prepared to contend with the breakneck pace at which "he flew by the seat of his pants," although he admitted that he operated more efficiently under stress. But "as the years go by, I work harder and harder. There is more and more to do and it seems that no matter how much you do it never gets any better."

Jim saw no way out of the situation, but admitted that a physical education teacher brought many of his problem upon himself.

You know I think we can be our own worst enemies. Look, I am involved in coaching three activities, and when I began teaching I coached 5 for the first three years! I should probably do away with coaching in the early part of the year, especially being a department head, and maybe at the back end (of the school year) I shouldn't be there coaching and start spending some of my time organizing the next year and evaluating the present one.

On one occasion I sat in Jim's office talking with him as he held a telephone line waiting for someone to come to the phone on the other end. The person took what seemed minutes to come to the phone, and Jim got progressively more anxious about getting to his class as he peered at them through the barred windows. Finally he remarked:

Boy, this job never gets any better, you know you think you are on top of things and then there is always something to come along and destroy your efforts. The worst thing that has happened to me in this job is the introduction of the Physical Education 30 class. You know you have to go into depth and give the kids something, and that takes time.

This was also confirmed by Sue King, who agreed that two classes of Physical Education 30 "was too much for anybody" and suggested that Jim should have been relieved of one of the classes. Unfortunately, it appeared that few teachers, including the principal, understood the demands of teaching the Physical Education 30 classes, and furthermore did not comprehend the in-depth treatment with which the material was applied.

Teaching Perspectives

Other stressful situations were observed in the school, many of which were not confined to the teaching of academic subjects. Physical education teachers also are faced with how to follow the practice of teaching and meet the expectations of the professional community. Jim mentioned that "things are expected of you", not only in the school where colleagues and administration expect a professional showing that lives up to the professional standards of good pedagogy in physical education, but also in the leagues of interscholastic athletics.

The physical educator operates within these categories of expectancies under more or less stringent sanctions. Receiving recognition or not, for being a knowledgeable coach and an effective teacher, could have possibly enhanced or damaged his professional performance. Under such threats or possible rewards Jim chose to view the concept of expectancies as an opportunity to be taken. Moreover, his efforts bordered on being a challenge which was met with meticulous care in preparation and presentation of material in the physical education class. Furthermore, to ensure the success of the class, Jim exercised as much power as was available, to indicate to those students whom he considered would benefit from such offerings in physical education.

I make it clear what is expected of them hoping that it will encourage them to conform to the standard of a good candidate. We aim at a well rounded individual, and I caution the student to be a total person not just good in one area like physical education.

By controlling the type of students entering his Physical Education 20 and 30 classes, Jim protected the ideal situation which he had worked towards over the time of his tenure at the school. Jim created means through what Sharp and Green describe as a "coordinated set of ideas, beliefs and actions" which are used by a teacher "in coping with a problematic situation" (1975:70). The means were identified as the "teacher's perspective" which were composed of thoughts and actions. They were seen in this study both from the "impression management" perspectives, and from the humanistic viewpoint, of man being a part of his environment, having reaction to, and in turn, acting upon his social setting.

Jim's teaching perspective appeared to emerge from such issues as selection, setting the ideal teaching conditions and striving to protect what he had already established.

How the Physical Education Teacher is Viewed by Others

Data relating to Jim's function in the school was hard to collect early in the study. Most informers were reluctant to "open up", and to approach them with questions relating to Jim's role was not appropriate. However, as time passed various conversations were indicative of how other staff members felt, and their remarks formed a consensus of impressions regarding Jim. Such comments as:

"Oh! I saw him 10 minutes ago going to the office."

cr

"I will be down to the staffroom in 15 minutes, I have a couple of things to do in my office first."

or

"Jim never spends much time in the staffroom during his spare, because he is always busy running around after something or somebody."

cr as Steve noted:

"Jim's time constraints are obvious and he gets very busy but he never seems to run out of that little bit extra. If you want to go over something with him he'll never say he hasn't got the time."

reinforced the idea of the overworked physical education teacher and coach. Moreover it was difficult to uncover unsupportive data about the role and the role taker.

Often the most substantive data emerged from the casual conversation or the purposeful eavesdrop, and the staff common room proved to be the place where such data could be gathered. The frequency with which sport was brought into the conversation was notable and the progress of school sport was always a topic of conversation when one of the coaches sat down for a cup of coffee. Often the coaches brought problems associated with the game to the staffroom. Topics ranged from an individual's performance to the time practice was held that morning or the previous evening.

The recurring issue of time was a favourite topic for Steve Benson who expressed his view of the physical

education teacher's lot. He recalled the day that Jim was called to the staff telephone to answer the five lines which were all for him. For Steve that spoke for itself. On another occasion Steve and his wife Andrea were sitting in the staffroom. The night before was the occasion of the Junior Football Banquet for which he, as head coach, had been the coordinator. Although this was the fifth season for Steve he had no intention of helping out in the physical education programme beyond his coaching duties. His lack of interest was influenced in some measure by the associated duties which physical education teachers seem to have thrust upon them. Both Steve and his wife, who coached interscholastic swimming, warmly praised the quality of the programme which they attributed to Jim's effort. Steve remarked:

They could employ him full time in an administrative role and head of department allowance thrown in and it wouldn't be enough. On top of that he would still have plenty to do even if he didn't teach at all!

Jim was openly praised by other members of the community such as the university faculty member who had originally introduced Jim as a possible subject. Besides possessing the necessary component of running a fairly diversified physical education programme, Jim was introduced as a department head who was not "too high powered" and a person upon whom sustained demands could be made. The faculty member was also in a position to state views based on his observation of Jim from his first days at the school.

Such observations noted that "Jim was a super kid and student teacher, and was going to be outstanding", and an asset to the already stable staff. Ten years had already passed and Jim expressed that he had no reason to leave the setting and philosophy which he had come to accept and like.

The physical education staff also expressed positive feelings towards the department in which they functioned, but on occasions certain frustrations surfaced. Although Rob Romanuk worked closely with Jim, he openly challenged him on several issues throughout the year. Feeling somewhat confused in making a transition from junior high school to the high school situation, Rob felt that unit notes and handouts should have been provided in a booklet form and updated. He also felt that a unit in Volleyball officiating was not being organized correctly and needed a new orientation.

In spite of such criticisms Rob was generally in favour of the departments ideology and closely aligned with its practises. Rob stated "The physical education programme in the school functions particularly well, primarily because of the staff with Jim as its head". Rob felt that he had been accepted at the school even though he had been there only a few months. Jim, he emphasized, was especially good about his guidance and help, because he was prepared to listen, sympathize and was a friend in whom one could confide.

Rob also expressed the view that the success of the physical education programme at the school was due to Jim's

hard work.

His days are long and he is dedicated to the fulfillment of the requirements of the position of head of department. He has set a good example to the rest of the staff and has earned their respect for the man he is and the work that he does.

The female members of the physical education staff although not generally vocal were in agreement that the girl's programme had improved substantially over the past few years and had equal status to the boy's programme. In general they were pleased with the leadership and were conversant with the issues and problems of such a position.

Conclusion

This chapter has set out to describe and explain how physical education teachers, in general, and the head of department in particular, act on a set of beliefs and practises to confront specific problems in their situation (Sharp and Green:1975:69). While a group culture might not exist among the physical education teachers as suggested in the study by Becker (1964), teachers do find themselves facing a common set of problems over long periods of time, and in consequence adopt a body of perspectives with which to come to terms with their difficulties.

The empirical materials selected from the data serve to illustrate that the teacher's world in physical education is riddled with difficulties as they face the daily "practical exigencies of doing the job" (Sharp and Green:1975:69). More specifically the data revealed ways in which Jim Freeman

constructed a reality based on control, legitimation and eventually, recognition around himself and the subject area.

An operational philosophy (Strauss:1964) was clarified as data was gathered during the research period and illustrated how Jim Freeman's early career concerns were reified in the substantive practice of his day-to-day work as a teacher. In his primary years at the school it was a constant effort which directed the interest of the principal to the value of physical education. Jim attributed his success to his personal campaign to educate the principal and in achieving a recognition of the merits of a graduated physical education programme through the high school grades. Jim attempted to dispel myths that physical education courses were easy credits, although the principal persisted to doubt that students were taking the elective programme for "pure educational purposes".

Entangled with such "rhetoric of legitimation" (Ball:1975), was an underlying effort on Jim's part to control his situation. Such a control was considered necessary for Jim who, we have seen, permitted only those students who were "well rounded individuals" into the grade 12 programme. The kind of control which he negotiated, and which was supported by the female members of staff and the counsellors, may be viewed not only as institutional control, but as a far reaching social control leading to the reproduction of an existing economic structure. However, while Jim and other members of the staff were conscious of

the role played by education in determining the level at which students would enter the occupational structure, their efforts were not motivated by such contingencies. Rather, their negotiation was aimed to secure immediate order and control in the institutional setting of the school through student role-allocation based on their social acceptance, and to a far lesser degree, academic performance.

Finally, recognition was a concern with which Jim's operational philosophy had also to contend. Although Jim did not view recognition as a problem, the research observed the concern of physical education teachers in a setting which emphasized high academic achievement as a common goal. All members of the physical education department presented themselves and acted in an appropriate professional manner. The planning, presentation and evaluation of units of instruction were treated in a manner comparable to the academic subjects.

The schedules under which the students and staff operated were viewed as examples of institutionalized structures to which they, for the most part, rigidly adhered. It was observed that there were few occasions when instruction was abandoned. Students in the physical education department were almost always engaged in learning or participating in activities of a practical or academic nature.

The empirical materials illustrated, earlier in this chapter, the highly organized ways in which Jim conducted

his teaching load. Recognition of the value of physical education was practically automatic by the participating students and many of the academic staff. Operating a tightly organized department which conformed to the standards maintained by the rest of the school ensured, to some extent, the recognition of the marginal subject area. Few staff knew or understood what went on in the physical education department, but by all exterior appearances organizational requirements were met. Marks were recorded and submitted on time, students standings were discussed in terms of performances in all areas including physical education whose staff were recognized and called upon for student appraisal. In summary, without any attention to content, physical education staff were recognized for their valued input in the assessment of progress of the student by the remainder of the staff, in spite of their subject area.

CHAPTER VII

SUBJECTIVE PERSPECTIVES OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the role of physical education in the context of the school from the actors' points of view in order that the major actors may be placed and identified as members of an organizational structure within the school.

It is necessary to gather this data for at least two reasons. First, being part of the socially constructed reality of the actor's life world, the role of the physical education programme is highly related to the study of any of its members. Second, in a study such as this, a clearer picture emerges when actors are placed in the context of their actions. Also Denzin points out:

Society is viewed as contributing two essential features. . . . First, the symbols or various languages provided and communicated through the socialization process and, second, the concrete behavioral settings or stages within which behavior occurs (1970:453).

In this chapter an effort is made to describe the role of an emerging subject as seen through the eyes of the actors whose involvement establishes meaningful functions for the programme. Additionally, we shall seek the opinions and views of those who initially established the programmes and those who now perpetuate them. Such a socio-historical account of the emergence of the physical education programme

will illustrate the development of its role and that of its major role players.

The chapter deals with the function of physical education by addressing the physical education programme in terms of "intrinsic and extrinsic utilities"

(Esland:1971:86). In his model for the analysis of "Teaching and Learning", Esland, suggests that subjective perspectives could be analyzed in such a way. Taking "intrinsic quality" of the subject area of physical education to mean those qualities which bring awareness of self to the individual, the researcher posed questions relating "intrinsic quality of utility" to physical education. Additionally the researcher asked subjects to describe physical education as a contribution to the good of humanity, in which case physical education was seen to contain "extrinsic qualities of utility".

Basically I likened intrinsic qualities of a subject to those qualities which individuals seek as personal satisfaction and inner accomplishment in the acquisition of knowledge related to such subject areas as mathematics or English.

Conversely, I also put forward the possible viewpoint that physical education may also contain qualities which could be considered to be humanitarian in nature, and which benefited mankind by improving the quality of life. Both viewpoints are discussed in the following pages.

It was difficult for the subjects to express their

perceived values of physical education in the intrinsic and extrinsic dichotomy, and for me to verify the intent of some of the answers given. However, views were expressed which indicated that both intrinsic and extrinsic qualities of utility were to be detected in active participation in a physical education programme.

The Student's Viewpoint

Most people in the school were generally in favour of the activities of a physical education programme and with a few exceptions enjoyed those activities in which they took part. Students tended to be most vocal about what they believed and what they rejected. Another prominent feature of students' points of view were the extremes of their beliefs. They tended to be very supportive of a programme or attempted to reject it totally.

The investigator contacted basically two groups of students who related to the physical education programme. One group, the "jocks", was highly supportive of school physical education, while the other, the "freaks", was highly critical of the existing physical education programme.

The "Jock's" Viewpoint

For the supportive group of students, which in the interview, were mainly school athletes and those who were trying out for school teams, the answers were clear. It was

these students who closely fit the philosophy of the physical education programme and the school's overall aims. From an early age, it seems, students begin to participate in organized sport programmes. One student reported:

When I was young I played most sports, our community league was well organized, and from the time we were 8 we had football, soccer, hockey, basketball and baseball, and I played all of these sports.

Other students commenced their interest in physical education and sports in elementary school, and then in junior high school were given the opportunity to play in organized leagues. Both the community leagues and the school physical education programme have provided a lengthy sports career for many children before they reach the high school age. One student recalled that he was:

Glad to come to the high school setting because the community league involved so much politics, . . . especially in regards to hockey and stuff. They had the teams picked before they held the trials.

The philosophy of St. Ignatius High School regarding sports and physical education was based on things other than winning. The students listed the values of a physical education programme and often mixed in the interscholastic sports programme, too. According to one of the school athletes:

Physical education in general serves three purposes: it builds your body, develops muscles at a time when strength and endurance are at a critical point in your life. It also develops confidence and I suppose it teaches responsibility.

Another student suggested that sports and physical education:

Helps you become more self confident . . . but it also relieves the boredom of sitting in school all day listening to some guy lecturing. Sports is a way of releasing energy, and if you took sports away from students, they would be skipping school pretty soon.

The intrinsic qualities of physical education were plainly identified by the students, but they found it difficult to state clearly the role of physical education in the school, although they had no difficulties in justifying such a programme.

I have worked in the summer with them (road construction) and I have seen how they work. Some people just 'slough' off with Tax payer's money. You talk about wasting money . . . I can't see how they can justify wasting money on them and debating whether education should have a cut in support. . . . We're wasting money all over the place and to pick on something as small as our physical education programme is stupid.

Physical education according to those in support of it can play several roles which are in keeping with their beliefs. Taking the role of teacher for the period helps the student in the Physical Education 30 class to discover:

How much responsibility and burden the physical education teacher has to carry. You find out how hard a teacher has to work, and you appreciate them a little more.

Another student observed that physical education was:

Good because it lets people learn at their own pace. Take swimming for example, there are a lot of students who have done swimming in school and some who haven't, so it is a big thing for the new swimmer to swim one width, and physical education

provides for that kind of thing.

The curriculum in physical education has expanded considerably over the past 10 years and from its early beginnings has striven to meet the demands of a young society. By 1972 the school brochure was able to boast:

Over the past six years St. Ignatius High School has developed a respectable interschool athletic program that has included football, basketball, volleyball, badminton and track and field. In addition to a new and invigorating experience in a physical education programme which covers many teams, dual and individual sports such as basketball, hockey, soccer, wrestling, social dances, modern dance, swimming, badminton and tennis . . . (Handbook:1971).

Since that time the staff has intensified the academic content in the Physical Education 30 programme, and it has become acceptable for university entrance requirements. In observing such classes as athletic injuries, I was able to report that students felt the course was enjoyable and, beyond that, most applicable to everyday mishaps. One girl remarked:

My mom badly sprained her ankle this summer, and after taking this course I realize that we did all the wrong things to her.

Other students were also in agreement that such a course was useful and contained unnamed extrinsic values. However, Jim was apprehensive about the depth of instruction which he was giving. On one occasion I observed a class in which he handed out a simplified exploded diagram of the knee joint. Most of the students expressed some difficulty in

comprehending the medial and lateral aspects of the joint and could not relate how damage sustained by the knee would affect certain ligaments. Such examples demonstrated the confusion created and how students are unprepared for such course content. Jim found later that the students generally did poorly in a written examination on the topic in spite of the fact that they had been given clear indications that such areas would be their responsibility for examination preparation. He remarked:

I can't believe that these (students) were university material, and someday they will be attending university classes.

In spite of this a transfer student from the province of Ontario felt that the programme was far superior to that which he had taken in his previous two years. He thought that the physical education staff "were good and they knew what they were talking about". He also remarked that this school had a better attitude towards interscholastic activities and enjoyed some kind of school spirit which was missing among Ontario students.

The supportive data gathered from the students at St. Ignatius unfortunately was affected by the reactive effect of the researcher's presence in the questioning some of which took place at informal or "haphazard interviewing" sessions. A large number of responses offered supportive impressions of the physical education programme as a whole. Many of the students supplied answers which they molded around their expectancies of the researcher's stance. In

addition there seemed to be little point in criticizing a programme of which they were a part, some by choice, others by requirement.

Many students had no intrinsic reasons for participating in the physical education programme and did it because: "we got to, but it is O.K. and is a break from our study". Most agreed with these ideas and could take them very little further. Other students suggested that "it has carry over into the outside world" and "in team games after school, things like team spirit, co-operation are pretty good and they are valuable". When asked about the value of being active in school sports when seeking employment in the job market, one boy suggested "When you go to work for a place like 'Runners World', they would probably ask you if you had run".

Qualities of extrinsic utility were identified by the student athletes who considered the experience of participating in the school physical education programme and the interscholastic programme as a valuable one. Firstly, they identified status cultures among football team members, and suggested that:

This is kind of like a sublevel of adult life
 . . . like cliques and that . . . all lawyers and
 doctors stick together and do not associate with
 somebody like . . . a garbage collector or somebody
 like that. This is just the way it is
 . . . especially when you are playing football, you
 practise for two or three hours everyday and develop
 strong ties between everyone.

Groups like the school football team seem to maintain some

permanency through the season and perhaps throughout the school year. Steve Benson the junior football coach expressed the following:

I always hope that I can have the kind of team that I played for. It was the kind of team where friendships were built-up and lasted a long time.

Some students reported that they maintained their friendships during periods of the school day other than practice time and usually the friendships were actively reinforced with team parties free of adult intervention and coach's influence. Such status culture activities serve to generate conformity in the way students behave toward one another, the way they dress, select cars, music and express likes and dislikes.

Sports are the catalyst for the activities of groups, besides being helpful towards the development of self confidence and leadership qualities. One student suggested:

If there was no sport in school I think the population of school would go down. Like, many people come to school to learn, but they like to play sports like football, basketball and volleyball because they can really get into it. They like to see their friends and if there was no sport or whatever school wouldn't be school.

Dominant Societal Values

The role of physical education is not clearly viewed by students, although they are able to recognize what activities align with the teachers' and parents' values. Many of the expressions of what are acceptable to student groups seem to be very refined modifications of the

parent-teacher's value system.

In terms of material gratificatory objects, students either drive their parent's car to school or they purchase a car with their own money or with financial help from their parents. Clothes are very much uniformly selected from a narrow range of shops and hairstyles deviate very slightly. This is especially true for male students.*

Similarly, sport and physical education are able to manifest those values which encourage the formation of groups where members are ascribed with equal status, where performance is recognized on a group basis and individuality is suppressed.

The "Freak's" Viewpoint

Students who demonstrate individuality, often in a deviant form, create the problems of social control within the school and are the cause of the administration's attempt to crack down on those who are late comers, smokers, nonattenders and general misfits around the school. The view of such individuals regarding the physical education programme clearly placed them in opposition to the mainstream student of the institution whose views were supportive of the physical education programme.

Individualists such as those described were located in

* Randall Collins refers to these types of values in relation to the reinforcement of a status culture within the educational setting. The status groups share a status equality based on participation in a common culture (1977:125).

the school and identified themselves as "Freaks". On one occasion they had been excused from a physical education class by a substitute teacher and expressed their views in the following conversations:

- Q. What do you think of physical education in this school?
A. R.1. It's a real waste. You don't get an education from going to phys. ed. . . . I would cut it out completely, it's a waste of time.
- Q. What about the facilities and staff?
A. R.1. Fire 'em . . . the gym well I don't know what I'd do about that.
- Q. What don't you like about physical education?
A. R.2. There's more exciting things to do, if they had floor hockey. Volleyball is a buncho' garbage.
- Q. What kind of school is this one?
A. R.1. It's a strong school in athletics and sports, . . . but phys. ed. is a waste . . . like it could be better . . . things like floor hockey, golf, yeah, that relaxing.
- Q. What else would you like to see?
A. Ice hockey.
- Q. Why?
A. It's hard hitting, fun, fast.
- Q. What about football?
A. I like the American game, they got 60,000 people to their games, it's more exciting, its' bigger and better. The Canadian game is a bunch of shit compared to that.
- Q. Well, I think most of those games are played here in the school, what else would you like to see in the school?
A. R.1. Well see, there's swimming and skating, that's about it.
- Q. What don't you like about the programme here in the school?
A. Well all the things we said before, and . . .

R.2. We'd rather wear sweat pants than those stupid gym shorts that they make you wear . . . physical education is suppose to be fun. . . .

Q. You have mainly emphasized the indoor programme of Phys. ed. what about an outdoor programme?

A. R.2. Well, I like soccer, and . . . snowshoeing in the winter.

R.1. Yeah. We could collect a few bucks from each student and go on a field trip.

R.2. We could go on a field trip. I like that kind of thing. X-country skiing is another thing that's good too . . . and camping.

R.2. Yeah we always go camping in the summer round the lakes and up to Jasper.

Q. What about the other kids in the school?

A. R.1. There's two kinds there's two points of view . . . our view and their view.

Q. Who are they?

A. R.1. The jocks.

Q. What are jocks, I mean how can you identify them?

A. R.1. They wear sporty stuff, and talk sport all the time, . . .

R.2. They have real short hair, and big feet.

R.1. And big running shoes. They're always playing basketball at lunch time and pushin weights. They study good in school and get good grades.

R.1. People look up to jocks . . . they are looking to future life. . . . We do too . . . I try to get good grades and I'm just as good as they are.

Q. Why don't you get you hair cut the same as the jocks and get the recognition they do? Would you cut you hair if your job depended on it?

A. R.1. It ain't serious . . . I guess when I'm 25 or somethin' maybe I will have to get a good job.

Q. Do you have a car?

A. R.2. No. I'm saving up for one, I'm working at a gas station on Stony plain road.

Q. Do the jocks have cars?

A. R.2. They always have the fast cars . . . like a '68 Camaro. The old man buys it for 'em. It's a pretty good

area around here parents have plenty of money and buy their kids stuff.

Q. Would you say that you are in the minority in this school?

A. R.1. We are the top 5% . . . and we get all the good chicks in the school . . .

Q. What do you mean by good?

A. R.1. You know. big tits, good looking . . . beautiful face . . . dress nice . . . and are high class.

Q. Why do you think you get these good chicks rather than the jocks?

A. R.1. We don't pay attention to ourselves so much . . . you see the jocks are always talking about sports and stuff we are more relaxed . . . these guys are scared of . . . they go for freaks.

Q. Do you get on with the jocks?

A. R.1. They are OK.

R.2. Especially if they don't mind what we do. . . .

R.1. The strongest guys are freaks . . .

Q. Are the jocks on teams?

A. R.1. Yeah. That's all you hear. . . . The intercom announces the game results all the time.

Q. Do you think the interscholastic programme is better than the phys. ed. programme?

A. R.1. Yeah. They (Jocks) talk about it all the time.

Q. What would you like to be when you leave school?

A. R.1. Go to university and do somethin'

Q. Like what?

A. R.1. Oh. law or draughting, yeah that's pretty good.

Q. What about you?

A. R.2. I think I go back to Joe's and go into mechanics . . . I like that kind of thing. This school is nothing compared to Joe's. They have everything there for learning a trade.

R.1. This school is a smart school . . . academic.

Q. How many go to university from here?

A. R.1. About 20% . . . 30%, yeah about 30%.

Besides being somewhat over reactionary, the "Freaks" expressed a new point which accentuates how locked in to the system students can become. Symptomatically students became part of the tightly kept group of those who conform to the prerequisites for success in schooling in general, or they resist their inclusion into such groups. Open resistance to join status cultures within the school often confines the individual opportunities for success and gratification through peer recognition. However, groups of "Freaks" no doubt maintain status cultures of their own, with whom they may seek support or from whom they may disassociate. Their cultures serve to react against the established values leading to worldly success in the eyes of parents and teachers, although one "Freak" admitted that "It isn't really serious . . . I guess when I am 25 or somethin' maybe I will cut my hair and get a good job".

Without attempting to analyse the individuality of the "Freak's" position and his opposition to what he recognizes as the way to success, it is necessary to reestablish that such individuality can no more be tolerated in the physical education programme of St. Ignatius High School than in any other part of the school.

Physical education is closely aligned with the school policy on control and contributes to the school ethos.

"Freaks'" dispositions, along with other individual

perspectives, cannot be catered to in a system which allows little deviation. The "Freaks" will not be successful in passing through the screening device⁷ of the selection procedure for the grade 11 and 12 physical education programme, because they will be assessed as "students who would derive little benefit from such a programme". While Jim attempted to allow for individuality, he was somewhat restricted by his attempts to reify physical education as knowledge by legitimizing the programme in the eyes of the school administration, and most importantly by selectivity, guaranteeing the smooth operation of the programme through effective control.

From the "Freak's" perspective they accept the position that certain opportunities will not be afforded them because they do not conform to the rigidly determined standards set down by the institution and its various factions. Most of these individuals believed that their societal value or worth was just as good, but because of on outward appearances they were not acceptable. Only when things got serious, presumably like getting a 'good job' would they conform to the standards laid down, but it was unnecessary to be an absolute conformist during their stay at St. Ignatius High School. Physical Education was perhaps the least conducive to their style having little or no intrinsic utility which aligned with their values. Furthermore, any

⁷ Jim admitted that a few "freaky" kids were in his grade 12 class and were a source of concern for him at the camp out "because they couldn't go a day without smoking up."

acclaimed extrinsic ability as considered by the athletes or school was not seriously considered useful by the "Freaks". However, given the opportunity, these individuals felt that the programme could have some value for them in reinforcing what they felt were contributing factors towards an effective life in society.

A Teacher's Viewpoint

Other viewpoints about the role of physical education emerged from the staff at the school. Frequently, while sitting in the staffroom, there were discussions which centred around sports both inside and outside the school. Also various staff members had opinions on the role of physical education. Many of course were noncommitted and showed no active interest in the programme.

One of the most vocal was Steve Benson who coached the junior football team and was closely aligned to the philosophy of the interscholastic and physical education programme. In fact he had been drawn into the development of the aims and objectives of the programme as different aspects of it were introduced.

Steve's involvement as a football coach had endured for five years at this school. This was his first appointment. He was acutely aware of the school philosophy and the close alignment of the physical education department to it. In addition to developing talent and basic skills of students who would eventually join the senior football team, Steve

was careful "to look at things that relate to the philosophy of sports." Jim had pulled the coaches together to "try to develop something, and we came to an agreement as to what our key aims as coaches and instructors should be."

One of the 'key' discussion points centred around the value of winning. All agreed it should be considered as one of the bonuses for hard work on the part of the team. The role of physical education or playing sport in all this was to teach the student that those things in life worth achieving were accomplished through hard work.

I always tell them on the first day, winning is fun, but to appreciate a win you have to lose. . . . But if you work hard maybe that won't happen, and maybe you'll have a winner.

Sport is a valuable means of teaching such values and is at the same time compatible with the school ethos. When asked to express his view of in-class physical education, Steve was also definite about the extrinsic use which could be made of such activities.

In our school the in-class physical education programme is based on a similar philosophy to interscholastic athletics especially with Jim running it. Like his concerns deal with punctuality, being responsible, carrying out their jobs and no fooling around. Physical education has the problem of kids not wanting to change for activity, and girls who don't want to mess up their hair. . . . He tries to work against that kind of thing and makes kids responsible for their actions.

The emphasis again in this example from Steve's viewpoint demonstrates the acceptance of physical education as the opportunity to raise the student's consciousness to

the point where they may become responsible for their actions. It would seem that the situations created by the staging of the physical education programmes permits students to easily withdraw from activity. Whereas slight illness does not usually deter a student from attending academic classes, it may increase his chances of missing the physical education class. Similarly if a student forgets equipment or clothing for the physical education class, that precludes any activity, but such forgetfulness does not deter him from attending a math class. The physical education teacher's task as stated by Steve is one in which he continually wages a campaign of encouragement and self-responsibility upon the student. Such efforts have been articulated and developed as spin-off values of a physical education programme and as such contribute to the moral education of the individual.

The Head Coach's Point of View

Bill Johnson's viewpoint, although similar to many other's regarding the utility of the physical education programme, articulated clearly the relationship which he saw between physical education and the school's philosophy. Being both the Head of Religious Studies and Head Football coach at the school he was considered well qualified to speak on both topics.

Bill was appointed to his position at the school some 10 years ago, during those years he has been the Head

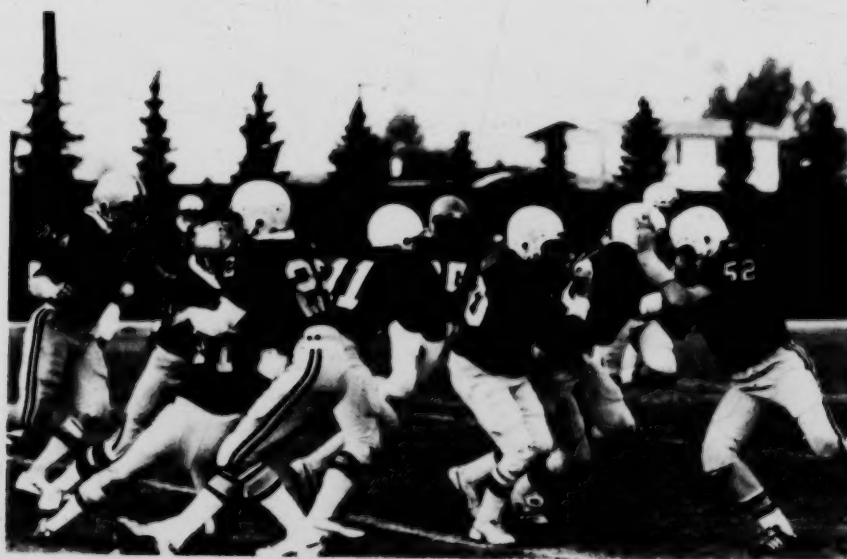


FIGURE 5. FOOTBALL - A FORM A PREPARATION FOR THE FUTURE.



FIGURE 6. OUTDOOR EDUCATION - PREPARATION FOR LEISURE AND LIFE-TIME ACTIVITIES.

Football Coach of a team he had started upon his arrival at the school. In terms of sport and physical education, enjoyment and fitness were considered an intrinsic contribution to the individual welfare and benefit to the student. In addition, sport provided an opportunity for self-testing to occur, and allowed for considerable carry over to other sports and life situations. He provided the following example:

If a person can realize that they can achieve certain goals, whether tackling an opponent, catching a pass or kicking a pressure goal, and they realize that they can achieve such things by intense concentration or effort, there could possibly be some carry over there. . . . May be they can carry that over to business or into life where they realize the really good things they desire can only be achieved through hardwork, intensive concentration or whatever.

Bill was able to identify more clearly than other informants how he viewed physical education and sports as it related to the Christian ethic which was emphasized in the school.

Part of the Christian Ethic is the individual's respect for himself. To love your God, to love your neighbor and to love yourself. . . . It seems to me that a person has to love themselves and when they do they can love others, and when they love others they can love God. Their opportunities in sport and physical education provide something that helps a person to understand, appreciate and respect himself. That's a good starting point, because once a person does that he can learn to appreciate others and to relate to them.

Like so many staff associated with the physical education programme, Bill viewed the physical aspects of the programmes as a setting for the promotion of experiences which enabled the student the opportunity to put into

practice the teachings of the Christian ethics based on the formation of the school motto "Caritas Christi" (The Love of Christ). This approach also permitted the striving for personal success to exist along side ways of being moral, in addition to upholding the Catholic religion.

The Principal's View

When the researcher interviewed the principal, the linkage between the religious ethic and the physical education programme was not as well defined. Nevertheless, the principal was able to identify what he felt the value of the physical education programme to be. School athletics were included in his definition of the programme and he was able to cite examples of the utility of such activities.

If something is done for instance that is not good citizenship we try and bring it to their (students) attention. We make use of our sports programme, our football players and basketball players. First they are considered leaders in the school system, and their behaviour has to indicate that because . . . they are in the spotlight and other people will look up to them.

Physical education students, and more so student athletes, have, whether they accept it or not, a social responsibility thrust upon them. Not only did the principal bestow upon those who became athletes representing the school a social responsibility about which they had no choice, other teachers in the past took similar attitudes. Jim recalled that first he was accused of harbouring his favourite students which teachers automatically assumed would be

student athletes, and then allowed them to obtain an easy credit in a privileged activity such as Physical Education 30. Such student athletes, if indeed they were, surprised other teachers in the school because they behave similarly to other students. "They are missing classes, why do we give them a special privilege?" was the type of question asked. Whereas the idea, that physical education is a privilege over and above other opportunities in the school, has somewhat diminished in popularity, social responsibility is still a cross born by those associated with the programme.

The principal regarded the credit system applied to all courses in the school as "too bad" when applied to physical education. Although "extrinsic utilities" were numerous, from his viewpoint there seemed to be no content worth examining: "I would like physical education not as a school subject, but part of school life. To me the credits are not important, because we all don't have the same proficiency". He saw physical education more as an aid to the problem students of the school.

I feel that my physical education staff can do a certain amount of guidance counselling with people who have problems. Sometimes the poor academic student may be spurred onto greater things by getting him involved in a physical education programme.

The utility of the programme and its leaders were, in this instance, clearly identified by the principal. He felt that the physical education teacher's opportunities were greater than those afforded academic teachers and therefore

part of their responsibility should be to exercise such opportunity for student benefit in the form of guidance and counselling.

When asked about the role of the physical educator the principal again reinforced his view of the "extrinsic utility" of the physical education programme.

It's too bad, maybe you know, if we become a bit older and more mature. (I'm talking about the school system and maybe the country) We'll have physical education people who do physical education work and not be part if you like, of classroom, and yet be very important to the classroom. In other words a kind of glorified counselling department, in a sense, but more interested in the physical aspects of a person's health problems.

In the principal's view, the intramural programme could do a good job towards providing the student body with a viable competitive setting. But at St. Ignatius most of the efforts were made towards the development of an interscholastic programme which took up most of the teacher's time and involved the student athletes of the school. The principal thought that the intramural programme could achieve the same objectives as the interscholastic programme however, he was quick to add:

In fact all my teaching has been at the secondary level, and I haven't experienced an intramural programme that was 100%. It would sometimes start off strong and before long it begins to drag its feet. But I think it can be as effective as interscholastics.

The principal's views, as far as extrinsic values were concerned, were expressed in terms of limitations and extensiveness. The former was highlighted in his remarks

concerning the utility of interscholastic sports as a base for the development of professional sports persons.

If you were to check the number of high school football players that make the big time you would find that to be an insignificant number, so why develop the superstar at school? So in that sense interscholastic sports are not that big.

Conversely, he viewed the programme to have a far reaching effect on the future leisure patterns of society. With trends showing the work week to be diminishing and as a consequence the leisure periods expanding, Mr. McIntosh thought that a physical education programme promoting lifetime sports was to be encouraged.

. . . You know there is curling, badminton, and a lot of noncontact sports which I think are good. In addition I like to see young men get together on Sunday mornings in some school yard and work out for a couple of hours playing basketball or football. I think that to play is more important than watching the professionals at the stadium.

Physical Education Staff's Viewpoint

So far most of the informants, or those who were willing to express an opinion, were provided by actors not involved directly in the teaching of the physical education courses. The notable exceptions of course were the two football coaches whose control of content was limited to the drills required for the effective playing of the games, but nevertheless joined the physical education staff in laying down a philosophy of playing and participating in the total physical education programme.

The viewpoints of the physical education staff did not

diverge substantially, although their personal emphasis upon certain aspects of the programme deserves individual attention and will be treated so.

Hilary Wells had been at the school for 4 of her 10 years in the profession, she was unmarried and has devoted a large amount of time to the coaching of various school sports. Her objective for the school programme among the girls was to promote fitness within an enjoyable atmosphere. She was confident that she had had some success.

I think the girls enjoy it, on the whole. You know there's different levels of enjoyment . . . I don't think I know of any girls who really dislike physical education, sure there are a few activities they like more than others. I think, on the whole, we make an effort to make it enjoyable, and I'm not particularly high on skill development.

For Hilary the physical education programme had some "intrinsic utilities" which later were transformed into extrinsic benefits. She felt that the physical education programme contained an opportunity to acquire physical skills, although group participation, cooperation and working towards individual capacities were part and parcel of the "intrinsic utility" of her programme. This basis provided a sound start for girls to enter:

Something when they are out of school. It's the leisure type of activity . . . and in this city there are a phenomenal number of teams . . . it's not merely the competition, it's the activity.

Besides identifying such intrinsic values in the physical education programme Hilary was supportive of the efforts of her students. Much of the credit was devoted to

her Physical Education 30 class which she explained was, for many girls, a pleasant diversion from the drudgery of taking a full load of academic courses. The change of pace, however, was not an indication for the girls not to strive for excellence "whether it is academic or physical work, they need to do as well in the physical education class as in any other class".

Hilary was frustrated with the way the timetable had been set up, because it contributed to the difficulties of running a programme that was closer to her ideal. Having taught for six years in other schools her comparison was based on her experiences in those institutions. She felt that the role of physical education could have been expressed with more effectiveness if the programme had been timetabled to accommodate its demands.

Hilary's main frustration was recorded in her disappointment in the loss of her preparation time during the research period, and because of that loss of prep time, she now cherished the "least amount of prep time, that [I] have had in 10 years of teaching." She regretted relinquishing the opportunity to coach interscholastic teams with the exception of basketball, because she was no longer able to make an effective contribution. This concern was probably instrumental in her late decision to reorganise and develop the girl's field hockey team. The values of such opportunities for Hilary were most important as she related:

On teams you get to go outside the school and visit other schools and find out what's happening in

relation to yourself. On occasions we go out of the city and those times are really good experiences for students and teachers to share.

Such experiences were not only confined to the ideal team situation, but also happened in a physical education class setting:

I had a physical education class 5 years ago with only 12 girls in it. I think most of them were in the group for their high school life and they were a close group. I still see a lot of them and we maintain contact with each other and that has been a worthwhile experience.

For Hilary, the programme offered various "extrinsic utilities" such as the opportunity to join active athletic clubs or sports teams such as women's leagues in basketball and volleyball. She also felt that the high school physical education programme shared some kind of responsibility to prepare young women for their expected role in life in the job market or at home as a mother. Hilary identified the student body as upper middle class where women in the family were either professional women or mothers living on substantial incomes. Expensive tastes in sporting activities such as skiing or golf, or membership in clubs where tennis or curling were offered, often involved the mothers of these children and in due time many of the students themselves would also be part of that group who pursued such activities. Unless trends changed significantly in the late 70's and early 80's, most of these students would receive an adequate introduction into the leisure and sporting life in the instructional atmosphere of the high school setting

which eventually could be used in the social settings which parents frequent.

While Hilary Wells perceived her students as future members of a middle class who actively pursued some life-time sports, she did admit that there were always a few individuals who didn't like sports. On the whole she tended to get along well with the students whom she met each day in her physical education classes, and basketball teams. Her view differed slightly from Sue King who provided a most overwhelming impression of the make up of the school population.

Sue King was familiar with the school although she had only been there for 3 years. She had been affiliated with the school some years back when her husband was a physical education teacher there. Her impressions were formed out of a comparison between what had been and what she was experiencing as a teacher during her present tenure at the school.

Sue was categorical about how she viewed the students and the programme. Like other members of the staff, she considered one of the objectives of the physical education class to be the fitness component, although she admitted that its implementation was not as effective as it was on the boy's side. Another objective which she considered significant was the provision of an opportunity to "go into skills more deeply" as the student progressed from grade 10 to grade 12. In addition she reported "we want them to have

an appreciation for activity, knowledge of activity . . . and a really good background". However, she recognized that there were certain difficulties with the order of the programme as it was operating.

We have things kind of flip flop. Where grade 10 is a terminal programme so that life skills should really be put in grade 10 are not, instead, they are included in the Physical Education 30 class where we meet only 10% of the school population.

Sue King candidly revealed the structuring of the programme and apologized for the determined route which the majority of students would take.

Interviewer. "Do you think then, if life skills were introduced in grade 10 we would save a few more who would enter grade 11 and 12 physical education classes?"

Sue King. "Well, this sounds awful, but we don't want those in grade 11 and 12 who don't want to be there. They . . . its an optional programme and they sign up for it. They want to be there, we don't want people to be thrown out, they are there for credits. It's more demanding because Physical Education 30 is somewhat academic, its a university entrance course so we interview every Physical Education 30 applicant and the programme is outlined to them."

It would appear that early in the student's high school career the student is screened in order to identify those whose character, interest, skill and attitude will coincide with the objectives of the optional programme. Once chosen, the students are identified as probable entrants to a university or junior college career and are given a more demanding course with increased academic content. Furthermore, Sue recognized that a number of students would join clubs and institutions (when they left school) where

individual sports were offered, citing as an example, mothers who joined the "Y (where they) take up some racquetball or whatever." She felt that the physical education programme offered a "lot of team stuff", and thought that if "they (students) wanted to do individual things they would do them". According to her this depended on the socioeconomic status of the students and their family. She felt that because the school programme was unable to offer individual sports it was no great loss to the student, most of whom were:

. . . Well to do. We don't have poor kids. Certainly what they became involved in, is affected by their socioeconomic status. You know, we have skiers who go to Banff and Jasper every weekend.

Interviewer. "What does that cost?"

Sue. "A weekend skiing in Banff? Well Sunshine tows are \$9.00 a day. Buses \$11.50. Transportation and lodging - I'd say it would be a \$60-70 weekend."

Sue felt that the socioeconomic benefits afforded the majority of students in the school compensated for any shortcomings the physical programme might possess. The normal types of objectives were being met and intrinsic and extrinsic utilities were limited to preparing the students physically and socially for their adult life. Sue expressed that a different emphasis had now been placed on the value of school athletics from the days of her high school sports career.

You know, if we played basketball and lost I would go home and go to bed and sulk all night. . . . But now it is not win at all cost. If you've got the bucks, and you've got a job, and you've got a nice house and a ski trip to look forward to on the weekend, you can lose a volleyball game and go home,

jump in the pool and have a sauna while your dad puts a steak on the indoor barbecue.

Losing a school game had very little meaning for the students and Sue had been forced into resigning herself to the view that, she, as volleyball coach, was to provide the opportunity for high school students to play.

In the physical education classes she was unsure of the ways in which the Christian Ethic was exemplified in her classes except in terms of cooperation. "Putting up and taking down equipment is a cooperative thing and every one should help. You've had fun now take some responsibility". Also Sue felt that the physical education programme offered an obvious opportunity to develop sportsmanship and fair play.

We try to play down the heavy competition in the physical education class. We don't like a girl to get upset if she has lost a badminton game. We like to see them play their best . . . that sort of thing.

Both Hilary and Sue had formed an impression of the population to whom their school physical education catered. Hilary seemed to have been less cynical about her personal effectiveness and chose to play down the lack of success she encountered with students who were not interested. Sue on the other hand recognized, rightly or wrongly, an overwhelming preponderance of wealthy students whose family provided experiences which the school programme was unable to do. She was also able to lay blame on socioeconomic factors for the lack of enthusiasm to win interscholastic

games.

Male Physical Education Teacher's Viewpoint

The third member of the physical education staff was a younger teacher, Rob Romanuk, who had joined the school at the beginning of the school year which coincided with the commencement of the research period. Rob had been a junior high school teacher and expressed a great interest in the values the high school in-class physical education programme and the interscholastic athletic organization. Although he took his position seriously on the football field, he stressed that the importance of a physical education programme lay in the teaching of physical education in the class situation. The classes formed the core of the programme and as such were the centre of interest for the physical education teacher. Rob remarked that in many schools the classes became peripheral to the main objective of the physical education staff which was to win games at the interscholastic level.

Interscholastic sports no doubt contribute much to the well being and general development of the programme, however, physical education is an elective in grade 11 and 12 and as such should be treated as any other subject in school and should be as academically rigorous as other subjects.

Rob spent most of his first year at St. Ignatius getting to understand how the staff fitted together and who was who. He was outspoken and was willing to express an opinion to anyone on the staff. On many matters he had quickly found



FIGURE 7. VOLLEYBALL - INSTRUCTION IN TRADITIONAL
HIGH SCHOOL PHYSICAL ACTIVITY.



FIGURE 8. ARCHERY - AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE A
LESS TRADITIONAL LIFE-TIME SPORT.

opinions and was always ready to provide me with one. In terms of the objectives of the physical education programme, which he had recently joined, I was unsure whether the objectives were his personal ones or those laid down by the department in the school. In any case Rob was forthcoming with some of the objectives he felt were operating in the programme. As a football coach he was well versed in the normal list of contributions normally supplied by the leadership in such activities.

The role of interscholastic activities plays an important part in the development of the student, particularly towards the norms of society. Those things which contribute to the student's success in the real world of work, such as competition fair play etc. are to be found in the playing of games at the competitive level. The world is a competitive place and it is only natural that students should begin to learn how to compete fairly and realistically.

Some time later Rob replied in a second interview with the following:

. . . The objective would basically be educating the physical, in skills generally, and especially in keeping with fitness and also recreation for future life.

In addition he felt that:

. . . . The major objective is the total education of the student in keeping with the moralistic ideals of the school.

He also expressed the feeling that the Separate School Board was easy to teach under because "their philosophy is in keeping with my own".

The values of the physical education for Rob remained in the extrinsic areas of utility. He seldom associated subject matter with any intrinsic worth, in spite of applied academic vigour, but expressed value in the programme as preparing students for life. In order to do this, he attempted to conform to the wishes of the department and the school administration. Fitting into the dress standards, the concern for punctuality and finding the opportunity to "moralize" in the classes (without having to apologize) helped Rob to define the situation of a new school in which he found himself. He demonstrated an overt preoccupation of presentation of self, and in that picture he chose to present a figure who was physically powerful, authoritative and someone who was on top of every situation which arose. His concern for order and preparation pointed towards his efforts at social control of students in the classroom situation and perhaps to more far reaching forms of social order.

During the first year, Rob made suggestions to Jim on tightening up the running of his ship. Forceful demonstrations were made by Rob concerning a volleyball unit which, in Rob's eyes, was not functioning properly. Not only did Rob request such changes, but he mentioned that he would like to have seen a prepared typewritten handout for each unit so that the physical education staff could pick up a copy and be fully prepared for an approaching unit. Rob mentioned that "There's nothing worse than standing up in

front of your class not knowing what you are going to teach".

Other physical education staff were not that preoccupied with preparation and, with their experience, were able with minimum effort to "pull off" a lesson. Nevertheless, Rob's concerns seem to have been aimed at maintaining the creditability of the department and at the same time contributing towards his own legitimation as a new, but worthy, member of the physical education staff.

Head of Department's Viewpoint

Jim's view of physical education was the result of blending a pragmatic approach with some of the values which he felt were aligned with the value systems of both himself and the school. He liked the school where he had been teaching for the past ten years and he closely associated with the emphasis which was placed on the students of the school to live a Christian life as defined by the Catholic Church.

He felt that the opportunity to teach religion was also an opportunity to tackle his own personal issues of living a Christian Life.

I have often said that it (teaching religious studies) has helped me more than it has helped the students, that may not be true, but it has helped me as a person. The first years of my teaching career I had to work so many things out in my mind, and I did have to do some reading some preparation and clarification on the religious aspects of my life - it was amazing.

In affirming his own position in relation to the Catholic religion, Jim was able to clarify the role which physical education could also take in the development of social, and at the same time, Christian values. While he was able to list such developmental qualities which physical education and sports engendered, he was also able to define what he considered to be "intrinsic and extrinsic utilities" of physical education classes and interschool sports.

The extrinsic qualities, I think would be more obvious in physical education, however, I think physical education can have internal emotional and physical effects on an individual.

Jim was unclear as to whether the physical education programme could be clearly shown to offer "intrinsic utilities" to the individual. Instead, he could see intrinsic value "spinning off" as extrinsic values.

For example, when we introduce our unit on aerobics, gymnastics, etc., I tell my students to look at these activities in terms of strength and general fitness development. Now if you think of the cardio-respiratory benefits of physical education you can appreciate the spin off effects of exercise and the consequences of that. ie. better sleep, better appetite, better concentration.

However, when he described the values of the Physical Education 30 programme and some of its unit offerings, he felt that the "intrinsic utility" and demand was on an equal level to that offered in the Math or English departments.

In some of the units you would have to say that the 30 programme is more academic. You take something like athletic injuries and a lot of that is academic. In order to use it extrinsically you have to know what is happening anatomically and physiologically.

Jim's time as a department head, physical education teacher and interschool coach has already been described. What has also been emphasized is the attention which he paid to the development and continuous upgrading of his physical education classes. In an emerging conflict with some members of his physical education staff, he stood by his belief that the programme should be concerned primarily with quality and not expansion. In a department meeting he was able to partly resolve the issue by addressing the apparent demand by grade 10 students to have the option of taking a full or a half year course in physical education.

We can obviously offer more to a kid in a full year than we can in a 1/2 year, and we think it is of central importance, but we have to talk about how much we can offer.

Increasing the staff's commitment to the development of an introductory course in physical education would possibly mean a cutback on other optional courses in the school programme. Jim appeared to be in favour of reducing the number of Physical Education 20 and Physical Education 30 classes. The administration and guidance department were using the physical education class "to fill up a kid's programme with enough credits to graduate them from the school with a diploma". He sensed that one of his weaknesses as a head of department was that he was too generous and would not refuse a request from the guidance counsellor.

Like I see more and more kids in these that don't belong . . . but I know that our administrators and

guidance people know me well enough and sometimes I feel they are taking advantage of me, but I hate to refuse a kid that I possibly can help.

One way of resolving the problem of having kids that did not belong in the programme was, in his estimation, to reduce the number of classes from two to one. This would have the effect of imposing a tighter screening procedure which would eliminate the diploma student. While enforcing an elitist approach at one end of a student's career. Jim saw merit in his utilitarian approach at the commencement of a student's high school programme. The extrinsic values of physical education could "be geared to maximizing the participation, exposure and fun of sports" to the grade 10 student who, in all probability would not be involved in sports later in his school career. Jim emphasized the values of the physical education programme in all grades in the following manner:

I would look at our curling unit in Physical Education 30 as more of an exposure to an activity which in all probability they will not touch again for some time. But, in 7 or 10 years from now they may just join a curling club because they did enjoy it here. That is what I think we hope to achieve as physical educators. Our 10 programme is primarily geared to maximum exposure, and is their last kick at the cat.

Overall Jim, while able to negotiate his own reality as a teacher and coach, was concerned about the student body and how his instrumental efforts affected the individuals who would benefit from a physical education programme. As Jim constructed and dismantled his social reality as a teacher,

he took into account and justified the affects on the student. Moreover, he was able to justify the inclusion of a full year grade 10 class, because there was an overwhelming request for more physical education at that level, and at the same time suggest a class cut back for grade 11 and 12, students who were not, in his estimation, deriving any benefit from the classes.

For Jim the question of "intrinsic and extrinsic utility" of physical education was an issue which had related problems. There was no doubt for Jim that both intrinsic and extrinsic values were apparent in the subject area of physical education, but Jim felt that the benefit of developing these utilities should be the privilege of those students who were supportive of the physical education programme. To express a desire to continue physical education for a full year in grade 10 or to select to take the Physical Education 30 programme, was the type of commitment which enabled Jim and other staff members to maintain control over the student's in their classes. To allow the student to elect a physical education programme provided the teacher with a strong case for ejecting a student who did not do well in the class.

Jim had viewed and identified with some of the features of the academic subject areas, and while he felt he did not have to justify his physical education programme, he felt an urgency to require a high standard of work from his students.

I think we should and do expect more out of our students, after all it is a university entrance credit course, and I couldn't justify giving out credits without expecting more from the students. . . . We treat the entrance and the standard of classes seriously . . . and I think it would really be a mess if we treated it lightly.

For Jim, the opportunity to participate in a physical education class enabled the student to improve in physical fitness and the "extrinsic utilities" which that quality offered, besides improving the personal skills of the individual. The personal skills were not only those which improved the performance of the student in socially accepted games, but also helped the individual in the social context itself.

In selecting a candidate for the Physical Education 30 programme, Jim attempted to emphasize the characteristic requirements which would not only allow the student into the class, but would also enable him to be socially acceptable to the school in general.

This is a fairly rigorous screening, I caution the student to be a total well rounded person, not just good in one area like physical education . . . that's how many of my problems arose in the past. Some problem kids slip through the selection procedure and cause trouble in the class so I encourage the student to be a total person.

In spite of "giving away" the screening control partially to the counsellors and principal, Jim still maintained some control over the members of his optional class. To ensure that high standards were maintained, Jim appropriated the right types of students who would reinforce

his objectives to make the classes of Physical Education 30 a class of elite, conforming students. However, Jim did not agree with the term 'elite':

Then members of staff got the idea going that this was an elite group, hand picked by me, but it was no more elite than those qualifying for the Math or English programme.

At one end of the physical education spectrum Jim catered to a large number of incoming students, and at the other end he catered only to a minority group who were able to meet the rigours of conformity defined by the school's moral, religious and social ethos.

Summary

In an effort to investigate the subjective perspectives of physical education, it was noted that the actors frequently became critical and were embroiled in the emerging problems of the subject area. If this expression of criticism is accepted it would seem to follow that the subject area is concerned with the emergence or existence of primarily social problems, whose solution is one of the objectives of physical education.

All informants were unable to provide an account of what physical education was about without illustrating the difficulties with which participants were fraught. An inquiry into the intrinsic qualities as opposed to "intrinsic utilities" would have revealed certain common problems which appear to be inherent in physical education and

interscholastic sports programmes.

In their attempts at describing their appreciation of the programme, most informants expressed either general support or rejection of certain aspects of the programme. However, most were aware of lack of generalizability of such a programme to all members of society. The value of the programme in spite of this was, in the main, expressed in terms of extrinsic worth.

Most of those staff members who were involved at the school were unclear of the "intrinsic utilities" of the subject. Few expressed any noticable stress on the student to develop any particular qualities of heightened personal awareness and inner fulfillment. However, most informants were able to identify the "extrinsic utility" of the physical education experience. Practically all actors with the exception of the "Freaks" saw physical education and sport placing some emphasis on world improving and humanitarian value. In their view, such extrinsic qualities however, did align with the school religious ethic and the cultivation of moral stances, which were believed to stand students in good stead in the work world.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS DO THEIR JOB

Introduction

Geoffrey Esland (1971) has drawn our attention to the contributions of Schutz in social phenomenology, and Mills through the sociology of knowledge, in considering the "derivations and conceptual dependencies of the theoretical framework" which forms the basis of this chapter (Esland:1971:79). The sociology of knowledge has, as its central idea, the notion that man's consciousness arises out of his social being. In Meadian epistemological terms the view of man is one of world producer and social product (Esland:1971:79).

In terms of the teacher and his work world this dialectical view provided the researcher with a frame of reference from which the emerging substantive issue could be attached. Schutz's contribution to the sociology of knowledge and, in particular, to the question of consciousness and action, has also been forwarded.

Intentionality, writes Esland:

As embodied in the commitment to a project of action, masks an inner dialectic between 'because of . . . ' and 'in order to . . . ' motives which occur through the different 'tensions of consciousness. . . . ' Choice for an individual is therefore an active process operational through the interpretational system, which is his biographically constituted knowledge (1971:80).

This stock of knowledge is a social product held in

conjunction with his consociates, contemporaries, predecessors and successors; the so-called consociates he will together with confirm and construct his reality in his spacial-temporal world (Esland:1971:80).

Besides the reliance on the sociology of knowledge we have already incorporated the previously described teaching ideologies and teacher's perspectives alongside the concept of the school ethos. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe how physical education teachers perform their functions as teachers who have incorporated a "biographically-constituted knowledge" in the form of a teaching perspective to align with a school ethos. More specifically we need to know how the spatial and temporal factors constrict or contribute to the daily functioning of physical education teachers.

This attempted description seems necessary as the apparent relationship between the various concepts emerged with the maturity of the study. The researcher's data amassed many isolated but also many interrelated facts which require clarification.

In this chapter four main areas are described commencing with space and location of physical education activities, second, the existential feature of how teachers operated while at school, and third, how physical education teachers viewed their subject area. Finally, in order to address the notion of accountability we shall investigate how teachers employ their "biographically-constituted

knowledge" to perform a "rhetoric of legitimation".

In other words the research will illustrate that the role of the physical education teacher is faced with unique difficulties and frustrations which, over the years, he has learned to overcome. Learning how to face problems and to overcome them forms a specific knowledge or perspective which he acquires through the years of experience.

The "rhetoric" of the physical educator is consequently employed to define the contribution of physical education and is supported by the experience he brings to the subject.

In the event of criticism against the programme or staff, the physical education teacher can draw from his experiences, numerous reasons, to nullify the criticisms. By so doing he thereby attempts to reestablish his legitimate role and that of his subject area.

The Spatial World of St. Ignatius

As already described briefly in Chapter IV, the physical education department relies heavily on facilities off the school premises. Such facilities have been increasingly in demand over the years as the programmes have expanded. Such an expansionary programme has brought with it very trying situations for Jim Freeman as he annually entered into detailed planning of such offerings as skating, curling and swimming. The problems are unique in relation to the spatial problems posed for the academic teacher in the school.

For the physical education teacher at St. Ignatius, the gymnasium, it will be recalled, was situated at the North end of the school. It was a good two minutes walk when the hallways were clear, but increased to as much as four when there was student congestion. The physical education staff were keenly aware of the problem and were often noticed cutting their prep period to get to the gym from the staffroom before the bell. Leaving on the bell meant being late for the class and that type of behaviour on the part of the physical education teacher was a break from the professional attitude which the physical education staff attempted to portray. The simple matter of leaving early demonstrated the emergence of a practice based on the belief that being on time and ready was part of the professional expectation made known by the administration and agreed upon by the school community. Such a specific expectation, adhered to by physical education staff, formed part of the school's ethos and was registered by the staff as part of their stock of knowledge referred to by Schutz as 'Lebenswelt' (1964)

Other facilities, such as the swimming pool, presented similar difficulties which were met with similar practices by teachers. At one stage of the term Hilary Wells remarked:

It has been a hell of a week. Wednesday was the worst day. I had a visitor from the university here and I found myself telling her to hurry up! We have to be at the pool by so and so and then we have to be at the rink by so and so. I walked miles and was glad when it was over.

However, other corresponding problems related to students, crept into the organizational demands.

Practically all the units of swimming for both male and female students took place in the winter time, which in Alberta is not difficult. Most of the autumn and winter terms take place with temperatures near, and sometimes well below, freezing. Added to this, a blanket of snow and a 200 metre walk to the pool from the school created difficulties in motivating students to swim.

Jim Freeman made a special effort to ensure that his Grade 11 swimming class understood the requirements by having an in-class lesson to introduce the unit. First he began by explaining what the skill requirements were and what arrangements had been made for the class. He also outlined the certification programme which, divided into three levels, enabled everyone to establish his own level of ability in the pool and to attain a specified level according to their experience and acquired skill at the end of the unit. The class ended with clear instructions and an invitation to come prepared.

The next morning the swim class was held at 9:20 a.m. I arrived at the school at 9:45 hoping to spend the rest of the day observing. As I walked down the hallway I was overtaken by Jim who emerged from his office with a very anxious look on his face. The secretary had put a call through to his line just as the previous class was ending and he could not allay the caller's anxiety about her

daughter's performance in Jim's class.

This contributed to a very unfavourable start to Jim's first swimming lesson with his Grade 11 boys whom he predicted would be uncooperative and awkward at the pool.

Our late arrival at the pool reaffirmed Jim's fears. A number of students were sitting on the seats at the side of the pool while another group had already gone into the changing room and were changed. Jim immediately urged those who were participating to go into the pool under the supervision of the resident lifeguard, while he himself changed. He quickly appeared and immediately went along the row of 12 students who were sitting out to receive excuses, reasons and permission notes from parents. Each student gave Jim their reasons for not participating that day which included not bringing swimsuits and feeling sick to just not feeling like swimming. The following was a typical exchange:

Jim. I told you in the last class that we would be swimming today. Where's your note?

Student 1. I forgot to ask my mum this morning.

Jim. What's wrong with you?

Student 2. I've got a chest cold. (In spite of the cold weather outside the boy wore only a thin jacket, jeans and running shoes and was poorly dressed considering his apparent condition.)

Having accounted for all members of the class and recorded absences, Jim set off to claim what remained of the lesson to teach drown-proofing. The students in the water were responsive and he effectively managed to get some of the basic elements of the activity across. The lesson ended all too quickly and the students were called out of the

pool.

Jim was not only frustrated by the poor start to his first practical lesson with his students, he was equally frustrated by the poor turn out of participating students in spite of his efforts to define the situation for all involved. The location of the pool and the nature of the activity compounded the problems of organization and control which he attempted to secure. Professionally, he felt that he had followed the necessary steps to prevent such occurrences but he admitted "No matter what the activity, there are always a group of boys who say that they don't like what's being offered." This coupled with the location of the pool contributed to the frustration.

The need for specific and detailed organization extends to other activities offered especially in the Physical Education 30 programme at St. Ignatius.

It was necessary when the curling unit was introduced a few years ago to secure long blocks of time which would allow the class to travel by car to a local rink some distance from the school. In order to acquire such units of time the administration was asked to change some of the blocks in the school timetable to allow the curling times to coincide with early morning starts or late morning periods which could, and did, overrun into the lunch hour. After a good deal of negotiating an agreement was reluctantly and finally made.

If you ask for examples of other problems they basically stem from the same base and that is a lack

of understanding on the part of the other staff members. Because of this lack of understanding people feel that they are not being consulted. Having their timetables disrupted was sufficient to put up a resistance to a slight modification in the timetable. Even though it is good to have timetables and to know what you are doing, it is also necessary to be flexible.

As with the swimming class, Jim met with the Physical Education 30 class in a classroom to explain the timetable changes and inform the students of the equipment needed and the type of footwear and clothing to be worn. The first activity class of curling was to be held next day at a designated curling rink.

The response to this activity, compared with responses by grade 10 and 11 students to their activity, was much more favourable, and all the students appeared on time and ready for action. Jim and Hilary taped the soles of the footwear worn by the 40 students on their first day at the rink in order that an effective sliding action could take place on the ice. This taping procedure took 20 minutes of the first class but an effective introductory instructional period followed and the students left their first class with some basic knowledge of technique.

Before Jim dismissed the class, he informed them that the next class was to be held at 8:00 a.m. on Friday morning. I was interested to see how many would turn up for this early morning activity which was to commence a full 30 minutes before school officially started its operation.

When I arrived at the rink on that frozen Friday

morning at 7:50 a.m. students had already begun to arrive in car pools and were anxiously waiting to pursue their newly learned skills. Jim and Hilary arrived and were somewhat surprised to find the majority of the class already assembled. The class commenced on the stroke of 8 with 37 out of the 40 members present. The last 3 arrived in one car by 8:05 and the class got underway with a full complement.

Jim's organization, sincerity and strong will had been recognized by his favoured class of Grade 12 students. His efforts were rewarded by full and keen attendance from students who were eager to acquire the skills, and who felt compelled to ensure the success of the programme. Jim recognized that many factors affected the success of the programme and was prepared to do all that experience had taught him to uphold his responsibilities. He relied heavily on the students in the class to fulfill their clearly outlined objectives.

The success of the Physical Education 30 curling class was the culmination of detailed planning which had been commenced early in the spring of the year before, with careful note taken of necessary timetable changes and the availability of ice. Such commitments depended finally on the cooperation of the students without whom the effectiveness of planning would not have been manifested.

I witnessed other examples of organizational frustrations which periodically surfaced to antagonize and thwart the efforts of Jim Freeman. An adjacent ice hockey

arena, already described, was used for the physical education programme by both male and female classes during the winter months. The physical education classes held during the day were arranged the year before and slotted into the physical education timetable, enabling the school and the community rink to function smoothly. Like the school, the rink had periods of intense use and periods when no one wanted to use it.

Fortunately, the times when the rink was not being used usually coincided with the school's demands. During the winter of the research period, the rink was open 24 hours each day. Teams turned up to play at 1:00 a.m. in the morning, midget and pee wee hockey teams arrived at 5:00 a.m. to practice. Consequently when the rink maintenance staff wanted extra time to condition the ice or add new colour to lines they informed the school that they would not be able to use the ice. Such short notice was protested by Jim who pleaded with the rink supervisor to consider using other periods of the 24 hours to maintain the ice.

Such relatively minor incidents coupled again with student related problems made Jim's occupation full of hazards, Jim's Grade 11 class who earlier were described as reluctantly accepting of anything the physical education programme offered, provided another example of student apathy. Jim's first Grade 11 hockey class were rather divided, 18 students were changed and ready to go, 6 were absent and 8 sat in the stands with their hands in their

pockets. In his usual manner, Jim went down the line and received excuses and reasons and warned the nonstarters that for each day they missed a class, there would be a 5% deduction from their course evaluation. One boy reported to me that he was saving for a holiday in Hawaii and a new motorcycle and didn't feel like spending his money on skates.

Such attitudes are difficult to cope with and have a great opportunity to develop in a physical education programme offered in the modern high school. At St. Ignatius the problem was not of a magnitude that caused the administration to act, but it was a serious disruptive force for the physical education staff. Unfortunately, the logistical problem created a situation where student responsibilities were less well defined and did not emphasize the significance of their poor attitude. "Sitting out" was an act which was perpetuated by the students but was reluctantly tolerated by the physical education staff.

Contrasted with this was the idea that students were accounted for in the academic classroom where they sat and the teacher was in, what appeared to be, full control. Students sat, and looked as if they were learning and were accountable by their presence, whereas students who sat at the poolside, on the bleaches or in the stands were succeeding in exempting themselves from a system which compelled all to receive the same instruction.

The physical arrangements for the conducting of

instruction in the school seems to bear heavily on the organizational responsibilities of the teacher. The effectiveness of running the programme, as we have seen so far, depends on the foresight and experience of the staff.

In spite of extraordinary organizational capacities being exercised, inclement weather and bureaucratic rulings were known to upset Jim Freeman's smooth-running plans. Early in the school year continuous heavy rain flooded the playing field outside the school to the extent that several golf classes were interrupted. Jim finally reverted to setting the students classroom tasks such as writing reports and reading golf handouts in preparation for an examination at the end of the unit. Jim also employed the use of an indoor driving range where the students could play a round of golf on a simulated golf course.

Poor weather also contributed to the closure of the tennis courts which were deteriorating before the rains came and were finally closed by the recreation department. Such an action created an organizational problem for the physical education department, who were left to find ways of meeting obligations without a facility.

Other incidents took place during the research period which served as examples of the unpredictable nature of operating a physical education programme. As department head, Jim took on the responsibility of ensuring that facilities were prearranged for the staging of interscholastic sports. During the football season all home

games were played at the adjacent stadium. Bookings were arranged well in advance of the season. Due also to the unseasonable rains that fell during September, the playing surface of the stadium was questionable. However, no word came from the department of recreation informing the coach that the teams would not be able to play on the field.

The teams turned up at the stadium on one occasion to be turned away to a practice field nearby. Jim was upset and he felt an injustice had been served when, as head of department, he was not informed of the closure. The result of such a decision was not, as it turned out, a crucial matter, but some ardent parent supporters jokingly suggested that if they had known they would have brought their lawn chairs.

Other logistical issues arose during the school year, although Jim admitted that this had been a good year as far as cancellations and major changes in timetable were concerned. Taken for granted was the travelling involved in interscholastic sports where locked-in schedules determined where and when games in the league were played. Jim's basketball responsibility involved an early season trip to another city in a neighboring province and a regular Wednesday and Friday night game.

Games on Wednesday afternoon away from the school typically followed a necessary pattern. With school finished at 2:30, Jim was able to hurry around and complete various tasks which needed attention, and then make a last minute

check to see that he had attended to the players needs before leaving for the game. Often many departmental responsibilities got in the way of relaxing and enjoying the team preparation before the game. Instead of perhaps relaxing before leaving the school to go to the game, Jim would be attending to various needs of teachers, administrators and students. Similarly, the Friday evening games involved an away location on many occasions through the basketball season and involved the consideration of time as well as off-campus locations. This issue will be taken up shortly under the heading of time.

The nature of the offerings of the modern physical education programme, in addition to the facilities mentioned above, required the temporary use of additional facilities. Activities such as track and field, golf, and in some years, bowling, required facilities not normally found in the modern high school. For a week during the month of May, the Physical Education 30 class required a wilderness setting in which camping and survival skills were taught. All in all the demands on the organizational skills of the physical education teacher in the modern high school are considerable and the probability of running a totally efficient and mishap free programme is low. Confounding the organizational problems further was the fact that St. Ignatius was inadequately equipped with indoor areas suitable for physical activity, and this created the need

for careful planning on the part of the staff.* The willing expenditure of energy, consideration and other necessary qualities are accompanied by an equally liberal expenditure of time. This consideration is an important issue and will now be taken up in greater detail.

Temporal Considerations

The commencement of the academic year is an exceedingly busy period for the physical education staff. Jim Freeman, as head of department was particularly concerned with organizational matters for several weeks into the term. The ways in which he chose to spend his time were crucial to the achievement of his various responsibilities. Although Jim's time was always taken up with arranging and seeing that things were done properly, he managed to gather a few spare moments as the term went on.

Most of the staff received one block four times each week for school preparation, and were thankful for that relief from the classroom. It was a time to have a cup of coffee or smoke and gather oneself for the next periods of teaching. Most of the teachers visited the staffroom during that preparation period and were anxious to get work organized, especially when examinations were being held.

Some spent their free period in the marking section of the

* The use of an additional large activity room was often mentioned by the physical education staff, whose solitary gymnasium contained a large stage which was seldom used. Such an addition would have released considerable pressure regularly placed on the organizational skills of the staff during the winter months.

staffroom while others took their books and coffee to one of the round tables where they worked and socialized at the same time.

For Jim Freeman the preparation period meant a time to organize the upcoming classes, or to fulfill a pressing need by the administration or students. Often there were several telephone calls to be answered which sometimes involved Jim for the best part of the period. On one occasion Jim had been so involved with school work that when his car had broken down he used the prep time to phone about a spare part because the stores were closed when he left the school at night. Jim felt that he relied too heavily on the spare blocks to prepare certain aspects of his programme and felt that he should free the spares for eventualities which always seemed to arise. He seldom spent the whole of the preparation time in the staffroom, for the first part was usually taken up with administrative duties which allowed 15 minutes at the end for a cup of coffee and a quick communication with other staff members.

Most of the research interviews were conducted during Jim's preparation periods. Each time he was approached to answer a few questions he treated the occasions as part of his professional duty and time was set aside to fulfill the request.

The shortage of time which was often observed in the life of the physical education teacher was due in large measure to the attention devoted to minor administrative and

organizational matters necessary to enable the programme to run smoothly.

The administrative trivia involved in physical education, the preplanning that needs to be done . . . I find that there are enough things that come up that keep you unorganized.

If Jim did not attend to such "trivia", he felt that his programme's success would be jeopardized. Such "trivia" as ensuring a referee was booked for the girl's basketball game after school, phoning a local distributor for boys gym shorts or checking with the office on missing students all took up time. Lunch hours were often, it seemed, spent in answering teacher's questions regarding the activities of certain students, coordinating efforts with other physical education staff members or making final travel arrangements for a team travelling to another school.

The physical education teacher's day was finely timed, and Jim through his 10 years experience at the school knew exactly how much time to allow for students to change, or to walk from one of the facilities to the school, etc. If the clocks were as little as two minutes early the teachers in physical education were aware that students would be late for classes.

As mentioned previously, the change over periods between the classes presented special problems for the physical education staff and those teachers whose teaching location was to be found in the peripheral areas of the school. Physical education staff were particularly aware of

the time factor involved in dressing, moving to another location in the school and being at the next class on time.

The demand for punctuality by the administration forced special arrangements of the timetable into operation. In order for those students who took curling to enjoy the benefits of comprehensive instruction in the game, the timetable was rearranged to accommodate such demands. Early morning sessions and late morning blocks were arranged with the school in order that the students could be punctual not only at the curling class, but be on time at their next class in school. The attention to punctuality partly contributed to the legitimization policy within Jim's department. Such a policy of punctuality avoided unnecessary confrontation with other academic staff who would, when given an opportunity, question the validity of staging various aspects of the physical education programme, such as curling and golf. One female teacher was heard to say:

I don't believe we should be offering curling and that kind of thing in school. When I went to school we learned to curl in our own time. I think it is too much, these kids get it all ways. What with the curling and skiing changes, the timetable is unbearable to live with.

Sometimes Jim was able to leave the students to complete their dressing and hair combing and return to the staffroom. Hurrying into the kitchen, he would grab a "quick cup of coffee" before going onto the next class or attending to some matter which had arisen. Although this was seldom practised, when it did occur Jim always checked the school

clock in the staffroom to see if it was synchronized with his own watch. On one occasion in the pool Jim phoned the school office to ensure that the pool clock and the school clocks were synchronized. He discovered that they were not and made the necessary allowances in his class. When he arrived back at the staffroom he had no sooner poured a cup of coffee than the bell rang and he discovered that the clocks were still incorrect. The result of such a minor incident resulted in his swimming class turning up late for their next class. This in turn resulted in the teachers reporting the late arrivals to the principal who reverted back to Jim for an explanation.

Whereas the academic teacher would, when introducing a new unit, merely state that he was doing so, the physical education teachers had a much more difficult problem. To change from a unit of volleyball to a unit of swimming in a physical education course such as physical education 20, Jim and other members of the physical education department found it necessary to cancel all activity for that particular class and arrange an in-class session where the students would assemble to listen to instructions. Such instructions included how the class was to run, where they were to meet and what they were to wear. In addition, to fill the first introductory class, the content of the course was typed and handed out to each member of the class and was carefully read over and explained by the teacher. This conscious effort was made to ensure that students knew, when and where

the next unit was to be held. Unfortunately, for some of the classes it was a waste of effort because students still turned up with no equipment pleading ignorance of the arrangements.

Most of the examples of the work which takes up the time of the physical educator is in the words of Jim Freeman "trivia". Indeed, most of the examples provided here would fall into that category. However, it would appear that it is the trivial details that suddenly appear important if they are ignored. Such attention to detail seems to be linked to the series of expectations which, imaginary or real, serve to legitimize the role of the physical education programme and its teachers. For example, Jim has learned through past encounters with the administration that if he did not make a telephone check, which was verified with the school office about the synchronization of clocks, he would have no form of defense to rebut the principal's questioning of an incident such as the late arrival of students from a swimming class. Such attention to detail enabled the teacher to defend his action as professional and honourable in the eyes of his administrators. He symbolically demonstrated how he wished to be seen in the eyes of the staff, administration and significant others. By the precautions taken he ensured that his actions could only be viewed as professional and within the bounds of what could reasonably be expected under those circumstances. In short, Jim Freeman in this manner attempted to legitimize or account for his

position and define the situation in advance.

If all had gone well, the students would have been on time and no questions would have been asked. However, when that was not the case and the physical education teacher was asked to account for his action which he legitimized and in so doing legitimized the swimming programme. Not only did the teacher's action or lack of action come into question, but also the worthwhileness of a class which made students late for following academic classes. If the principal was convinced that the occurrence in question was in fact a problem of late clocks and early bells then blame was released from the supposed cause. However, if he was not convinced that the late arrival of the students to their next class was due to time pieces, then he attempted to persuade the physical education teacher to reduce the time in the pool because it was more important to be on time, than to spend time swimming. The issue of legitimization was a significant one for the head a physical education department as he was often required to account for the existence of such a programme in the academic setting.

Unlike the development of other aspects of high school education, the curriculum for physical education has undergone the scrutiny of the whole staff and its credibility has been justified step by step through recent years. Also unlike the rest of the curriculum, physical education, because of the problems of administering and teaching the content, is often questioned. Finally because

teacher's and administration's lack of understanding of what a programme of modern physical education is composed, there is a tendency to consider the area and its content to be nonserious and a luxury not generally afforded matriculation students whose serious intent is university entrance.

Because of these three unique contingencies Jim, as head of department, was caught up in the justification of his programme as a worthy part of the total curriculum of the modern high school. Because of the diversity of responsibilities which rest on his shoulders, Jim is forced to spend time attending to minor problems which, if ignored, disrupt the programme and cause questions to be asked. Time spent is considered useful because it serves to legitimize the existence of roles of the physical education programme by ironing out possible sources of doubt from those who monitor the progress of the relatively new curriculum.

Content and Legitimation

Having considered how the physical education teacher contends with spatial problems and temporal issues in an effort to operate his personal perspectives as a teacher, we should now investigate the content and ways in which teachers do their jobs. The investigation looks at ways teachers employ an operational philosophy which contributes to the legitimization of the programme.

Jim's office is rather small and was shared by Rob the other full time physical education teacher and the in-season

coaches, which, during the football season, increased to seven or eight. One wall of the small office was covered with shelves upon which Jim had arranged piles of class handouts for each unit and each year. The content of these handouts served several purposes, the first of which was a source of security for all staff members. If the class was suspended because of bad weather, a change or clash in timetabling (which rarely occurred), the students were given a handout to read which was directly related to the unit content. In terms of the efforts to legitimize the programme, actual progressive content running through the three grades was formed through handouts which covered in greater detail, and sophistication, the various topics in the three programmes. In order to legitimize the course to the students, teachers of physical education ensured that students understood that they were responsible for familiarity with course handouts, and were examined accordingly.

Jim was disappointed in his Physical Education 30 class who were examined in an athlete injuries unit and showed poorly in the results in spite of his reminders that the class was responsible for certain material. The class in question was a mixed group of Grade 12 students, 50% of whom would be attempting to gain matriculation to attend university or college. I observed, as Jim went over an anatomical diagram, that the students had no conception of which part of the specific joint was lateral or medial and

were concerned more with preserving their image than asking "dumb questions". In spite of the fact that they had no idea of what the anatomical diagrams represented, and that they would eventually be tested on the material, they merely sat and quietly dreamed their day away.

To the rest of the school, however, the content could well be defined as academic and on those grounds deserved its rightful place in the curriculum. A few of the academic staff cited such topics as athletic injuries as "tough stuff for the students", all of which helped to legitimize the programme.

Jim's concern with legitimation of the physical education programme is voiced in the following:

Yes - the whole school to them is FIZZ Ed. period! They have no idea that there is a difference between 10, 20 and 30, which is something I cleared up at a staff meeting too. There is just as much difference between Math 10, 20, 30. There is a sequence, more being offered, and higher expectations of the students.

In order to be credible, the programme was developed to align with the school's definition of academic legitimacy. If Jim, as department head, was able to demonstrate the value of its content in terms which the administration and staff could understand, it would be tolerated.

Athletic injuries may be considered to be one of the better examples of the alignment with academic content. Other units of the physical education programme consisted of knowledge and demonstration of physical skill. The curling unit provided the students with practical experience of how

to curl, how to play and score the game and how to behave at a curling rink. Many of the courses dealt with the techniques involved in playing games (as in volleyball) and achieving skills similar to those found in gymnastics and swimming. The content of many of the units especially in Physical Education 20 and 30 programmes, however, contributed to the individual's improvement in such pursuits as life-time sports, and emphasized the safety and etiquette aspects of such activities. Much of the swimming programmes emphasized not only personal improvement and ability to survive, but also good preventative and rescue practices. Such content was justified by its extrinsic value and aimed at a future leisure society. Some teachers felt that the physical education programme contributed significantly to the quality of life:

Our physical education programme emphasizes life time sports like bowling, curling and badminton. . . . You know camping is done here and that is something that can be done with their families which is something I particularly like.

Few teachers or students stressed or recognized any intrinsic values which physical education content may have possessed, and as been noted, most identified several extrinsic values in the physical education programme. This observation seems to contradict that which is emphasized in the academic subjects where, instead of developing humanitarian and world improving uses, they develop specific qualities of personal awareness.

The preoccupation with legitimizing the physical education program obviously affected the ways in which the physical education staff operated. This was manifested in their classroom and gym teaching methods. In observing Jim's teaching methods closely one was able to detect how his "biographically constituted knowledge" helped him work out the best and most effective ways of teaching his class.

The method of selecting the best and most suitable students was one way of ensuring the effective control needed to organize and teach with positive results. This will be dealt with in some detail later in the chapter.

That aside, Jim's experience enabled him to "stage" model lessons frequently. This experience was demonstrated in the timing of his demonstration, his sensitivity to detect how much he could talk or demonstrate without losing class attention, his ability to detect errors in technique, his tolerance and ability to handle inattentiveness, and many other aspects of presentation.

Jim's basketball and badminton classes were prime examples of the well run and meaningful teaching situation. Students were enthusiastic, attentive and progressed through the lesson. Jim was able to justify the programme of basketball and badminton plus many other aspects of the programme where they ran as smoothly as these did. In spite of the aforementioned issues, the merit of the programme was not in jeopardy when classes demonstrated such intrinsic qualities as personal improvement and hence personal

satisfaction leading towards a general feeling of personal worth.

All the physical education staff were aware of personal appearance and demanded their classes adhere to the regulation physical education dress. Classes were well turned out and followed the requirements consistently. As mentioned previously, punctuality was of great concern to the physical education staff. Care was taken to receive written notes from the school principal or the parents for reasons to be excused from participation.

Conducting classes followed the university physical education format where a combination of demonstration, participation and theoretical consideration was given to each unit. As noted earlier, the introductory lesson would often take place in a classroom and the following classes would be held at the appropriate site, whether it was swimming pool or curling rink. Often during the three week units the class would again meet in a classroom for a review of the material covered for one lesson before returning to the site for further practical experience. Usually at the end of each three week unit the students would undergo evaluation procedures in the form of a practical skill test and/or a written objective examination.

Jim felt that a collective examination of all units taken each term could have been given at the formal examination held each term, but that would have been too vigorous for the students. Seeing that units of activities

broke the course naturally into sections, each unit was examined separately.

While the principal did not agree with giving credits for physical education "It's too bad we associate it (physical education) with credits, and I hope students don't go into physical education for credits", Jim and his staff found the credit system a way of legitimizing their programme in an academic setting. The physical education staff could talk among the staff and themselves about students in terms of how well or badly they had performed and refer to the marks which were recorded on their report cards.

Steve remarked, "They (physical education staff) have to educate the parents as well because they don't understand that the kid can fail". Jim aligned closely with other academic staff in the school when it came time to answer to irate or disappointed parents. In one case he remarked:

Well, Ken is lazy, I saw him in the hallway before the exam in athletic injuries and said to him, "If you don't write the exam you will fail," and he didn't even bother turning up for the exam.

Similarly, Sue King identified three girls in the athletic injuries unit who had missed a practical part of the evaluation and were awarded zeros for their lack of effort. Not only do ways in which students fail, bear similarities to the academic ways of failing, so too does the stress on their attendance, attitude and sense of responsibility.

However, those students who closely align with the

physical education stipulations and academic demands, in turn, contribute to the school ethos. It bears repeating that such an ethos reinforces the values which are deemed responsible for success in the work world and that of the college or university. For Jim the content of the physical education programme has been seen, and still is viewed as "marginal"⁹ in terms of academic rigour. However, Jim's efforts have been first based upon his university training where the quest for academic legitimacy was actively sought, and second on the confrontation with school staff and administration who were skeptical of any legitimate academic content which physical education contained. This determination and continuous effort to justify the existence of a programme, on the same basis as other academic programmes are justified, was an uncommonly difficult task. In terms of sharpening the student's consciousness regarding the Christian Ethic, a school physical education programme such as that functioning at St. Ignatius probably contributes more than any academic course offered to the development of Christian beliefs put into practice. An "institution in an educational system based on the Christian concept of man" must rely on some of the institution's activities to reinforce those concepts, other than daily morning prayers and monthly masses. If for nothing else, the

⁹ L.B. Hendry "Survival in a marginal role: the professional identity of the physical education teacher" British Journal of Sociology, Dec. 1975. In this article Hendry identifies the physical education teacher in a British school as one who suffers from accepting the role of a marginal professional in the school setting.

physical education programme for the principal and other staff was considered one of the primary activities in which the practice of the Roman Catholic faith was literally and metaphorically "exercised". For Jim and the rest of the physical education staff, their teaching role was primarily considered as an integral part of the contribution to the students's education, not a secondary role contributing to the religious ethics of the school.

How Jim Freeman Does His Job

For Jim Freeman the striving to be recognized as a legitimate part of the school staff seemed to be the basis for a continuous professional approach. As head of the physical education department, Jim was involved in negotiation with school administration and staff to uphold and improve the conditions under which the programme operated. In establishing such conditions Jim ensured that his own career featured in the process of negotiation.

Such negotiation involved the "rhetorics of legitimation" which continuously supported the physical education staff and their programme. Neatly aligned with the school ethos and Christian ethics, physical education claimed its students based on their academic success.

"Students entering our Physical Education 30 programme have to have marks of 50% or better" and Sue King remarked that "we . . . Hilary and I, are tougher than the boy's side," meaning that their methods of selection were more stringent.

Jim's early approach to the composition of his Physical Education 30 class was criticised as showing favouritism. He soon attempted to remedy such accusations by asking the school counsellor and the principal, along with the women's representative to make a committee decision on who should be admitted to the Grade 12 optional class. The women felt that Jim was "too soft" with the counsellors who persuaded him to allow potentially poor students into his classes.

Consequently, he identified boys who "did nothing but make trouble" and were the types of students he would have preferred to have excluded from the course, but as often was the case the counsellor had pleaded a case for certain students. However Jim's tolerance had been taken to the limit when he discovered "pot smokers" on his camping expeditions. Upon his return he told me that he went straight to the principal.

I had a few words with the principal. I am not putting up with this crap. If I didn't put a stop to it, next week I would have a bunch of freaks out there (at the camp site), smoking up. Some of those 'kooks' can't go a day without a toke. . . . Also McIntosh wanted to know why so many of these guys end up in Physical Education 30. Now he knows what we put up with.

The Physical Education 30 classes were composed of students who fitted a pattern of high school students whose deviation from a theoretical norm was slight. Jim began to select students early in their Grade 11 year and could provide a fairly complete list of potential Physical Education 30 students by the spring term each year. He

determined this list on the basis of the students attendance in his class, the attempted performance in the activities, and finally the attitude and ability to be cooperative, obedient and trustworthy. Such criteria were arbitrarily set and subjectively assessed on a day to day basis, but served Jim as indicants of which Grade 12 students would, or would not, "benefit" from his physical education optional course. By so doing, Jim had operationalized his leading perspective by the perception of a "problem" (namely lack of attention, poor attitude, attendance, plus many other characteristics) and its "solution" (the means of which were found in stringent selectivity).

During the research period Jim was anxious about the large number of students in grade 11 who would not be successful in passing through the screening device he had structured. Students were unable to demonstrate the characteristics which Jim had set out as his criteria. Having failed to meet those criteria, the case had been set for Jim to demonstrate that Physical Education 30 would provide no benefit for, (in his estimation), unsuitable candidates.

Jim was anxious about what was to happen in the following year and foresaw the possibility of a large group of students being included in the group merely to make up numbers so that two classes of Physical Education 30 would operate. This he wanted to avoid. Such cases would presumably be brought before the committee and would be

refused entry into the programme on the basis that the students were considered incapable of receiving benefit from the course in physical education.

Consequently Physical Education 30 classes were composed of students who were responsible, self initiated, punctual, and serious about their performance, both physically and academically. In addition they were students who had caused little trouble in the day-to-day occurrences of the class. For the teachers such organization eliminated the tiresome and often troublesome students and left them with a group of students with whom full control was maintained. Jim and the two female teachers all looked forward to their Physical Education 30. These were often referred to as the "good classes" and they appeared as one of the few results of teacher control.¹⁰

In the optional physical education programme, students were given no opportunity to complain or to withdraw from active participation. Stipulations, such as the requirements for fulfilling courses and extracurricular activities, such as camping and leadership programmes, were announced and fully understood by the prospective class members before they commenced the course. The commitment to Physical

¹⁰ L. Rainwater "Revolt of The Dirty Workers" Transaction, Nov. 1967. In this article Rainwater identifies teachers, among others as members of our society who, through their jobs, are required to fulfill "dirty-work". Such work is constituted in custodial duties where school students are policed rather than taught. In schools such as St. Ignatius teachers appeared to keep their work as "clean" as possible by means of selecting students whom they considered teachable while leaving the rest to put in their time in classes in which the students had no interest or aptitude.

Education 30 was a serious one which impressed on the students that the course was to be taken seriously, and no toleration of deviancy would be permitted. An example of such deviance occurred, however, when some of the chosen students were found smoking "pot" on the camping trip. As previously mentioned, Jim's reaction to the occurrence was to bring the matter before the principal and the students' parents. An additional deterrent was to warn future groups who were to attend similar camping trips that they would receive no credits and thereby not graduate if they were found guilty of the same action. Such measures employed by Jim asserted his control on a course whose outcomes would reflect upon his competence and value as a teacher.

Students who were accepted into the optional programme generally enjoyed the programme and felt that it was a useful introduction to sports, besides providing knowledge which improved their state of well being, fitness, and understanding of some of the intricacies of sports, health care and injuries. Many were surprized by the content and the depth of topics covered. Few realized, however, that the format, methods of presentation and evaluation followed that of the university physical education faculties closely.

Jim felt that with the measure of control which he possessed in the screening phase of the formation of classes, and the close alignment to the credit system within the school, he could maintain a legitimate role as a worthy member of staff. Additionally, he could maintain good

relations with the school principal and continually sell his programme on a man-to-man basis. The whole of the Grade 12 screening system (especially in physical education) had been identified by other teachers and informants as one of the few remaining defences which teachers, especially in vocational and physical education subject areas, may use to protect their performance and mental well being as teachers.

After 10 years in the same school, Jim had striven towards a more ideal situation for himself. As a head of a department he taught two classes of Grade 11 and two classes of Grade 12 students, one religious studies course and was favoured with two preparatory periods per week. The classes were not totally within his control, but his weight in the decision making process at spring meetings was considerable. He was able to make a strong case for those students he wished to see in his Grade 11 classes and a still stronger case for those whom he considered would benefit from a Physical Education 30 class.

Gradually, as seniority was established, Jim was able to make a case for his own conditions of employment. He remarked. "Look, I am involved in coaching three activities, and when I began here 10 years ago I coached 5 for three years". But he felt that he should have been coaching less:

I should probably do away with coaching in the early part of the year, especially being a department head. In the spring . . . I shouldn't be out there coaching and start spending some of my time organizing the next year and evaluating the present one.

How Teachers Do Their Jobs

Other members of the physical education staff were also attempting to protect their interests and preserve some of their personal time. Hilary voiced her complaints quite openly, she felt that the timetable in the school could have been more accommodating for the physical education programme. "There is a restriction on time in Grade 11 and 12, and that comes back to the attitude of our school". Her major complaint was that she had lost a spare period and at the time of interview she remarked:

Right now I have the least amount of prep. time that I have ever had in 10 years of teaching so I have just decided that I'm not prepared to spend as much time I always had time to get my other work done for my classes, now I find I don't have that time, so I have cut my coaching activities to one.

The conflict which Hilary experienced was further emphasized by her curbed enthusiasm for activities which she had commenced and felt compelled to give up, such as Volleyball and field hockey. However, as was noted earlier, at the last moment, she began to offer lunch time instruction for the large number of enthusiastic girls who turned out.

. . . . We got a field hockey team for the first time last year, and it went over really well and I felt bad it hasn't. . . .

Interviewer. You haven't been able to sustain the interest?

Answer. The interest is still there, I just . . . well I am not going to spend any more time here

Later when the teams were beginning their twice weekly

practice. She remarked:

Well I started the field hockey practices in the lunch hours, . . . and the girls are so enthusiastic.

It was common knowledge among the staff that the physical education teachers spent long and strange hours at the school. One academic teacher, during a staffroom conversation, over working time and conditions, reminded those present that Sue King came in at 7:00 a.m. to coach her volleyball team and didn't leave until 7:00 p.m. on many occasions. Her remark was concluded with the empathetic statement "That's really tough on anybody!"

The general feeling seemed to be that the physical education staff's working hours were time consuming and generally demanding and served as excellent reasons for not helping out with coaching or activity supervisory responsibilities. Once embroiled in interscholastic activities, one could expect to be working odd hours with little or no recognition for services rendered.

Rob Romanuk, however, seemed to be most willing to become involved with coaching especially when he felt the efforts would be appreciated by students. He handled his football coaching assignment in the Fall with confidence and authority and enjoyed the companionship of the staff and players. His handling of the four classes of physical education was not quite as effective or easy, and he felt compelled to take "strong measures" to combat the "negative forces in his class".

Rob found the transition from the Junior to Senior High School a considerable one, and the adjustments required seemed to circulate around the interrelationships between him and his classes. At first he came into his classes with the aim of instilling fear into the class members, an approach he discovered, did not work. Instead he found that:

If kids find you personable here, if they feel that you know your area and you have an expertise and you treat them fairly, they will respect you.

However, he found that this approach also needed some adjustments, especially with his Grade 11 students with whom numerous conflicts occurred. As a new teacher he felt that he had little control over his situation and was not in a position to make decisions on the state of situations as they slowly emerged. During a unit which involved approximately 18 classes he had allowed students to "sit out" 16 of them, because he did not recognize how easy it was to duplicate an excuse note and, second, because he was unfamiliar with ways of handling such situations.

Rob, as the junior member of the physical education staff, had only one spare period to complete marking and preparation. He was assigned the core programme in physical education in addition to his duties as football coach. The season was extremely consuming of his time, effort and energy and, on top of this, he was consciously aware of domestic pressures. In addition to committing so much extracurricular time to the school and its organization, Rob formed a wrestling club which provided the students with an

additional activity outlet after school. However, Rob's objectives may be construed differently when he freely expressed his needs to relate to the students.

I make a point after wrestling to hang around or sit around the weight room and lift weights with kids, and I have found that I have learned more about the kids in that setting than I would in classroom.
... The physical exertion and the sweat contribute to the setting and you become one with the kids.

Rob protected some of his interests by trading off personal time for personal contact under his own terms. The time commitment provided him some of the teacher-student relationships which he was unable to claim in his physical education classes. For Rob the transition from the junior to the senior high position was not without its difficulties and the need to relate well with his students became a significant need, which, during his first year, had not been met.

Other physical education staff did not express such needs and were, therefore, more protective of time spent at home. Both female physical education teachers established a division of labour which accounted for their coaching and teaching responsibilities. These were clearly defined by the department and met by Hilary and Sue, who fulfilled their obligations professionally and efficiently. Sue's volleyball season began with the school year and was completed by the end of November. She was then free to meet her domestic and family obligations, whereas Hilary met her coaching responsibilities through the basketball team which commenced

in November and ran through the winter to March. Hilary, although single, was unprepared to take on an extra team, not because she felt that her coaching responsibilities had been met, but because the administration had taken away one of her preparatory periods. She felt she had to protest by temporarily withdrawing her services as coach of field hockey and supervising teacher of volleyball duties she had performed in previous years.

The different roles of the physical education staff are difficult to describe in a meaningful way because of the ways in which those roles were viewed by individuals. For example, Jim felt obliged to coach and generally help out with the football team although he did not feel that he had the time. Hilary, on the other hand, had time to give to a newly developed team, but felt that a temporary withdrawal of services was sufficient to expose the issue that she had not been properly recognised for her contribution. Rob, for different reasons, enjoyed the feeling of getting closer to his students and to accomplish this he coached a wrestling club in his own time. Such examples hopefully serve to illustrate the diversity of reasons for the involvement, and lack of involvement, in the interscholastic programme.

Jim was not only speaking for himself but for other teachers in general, when he remarked:

Well you know if I am going to start doing that kind of work I have got to start dropping something else. I am not willing personally to give up, lets say, coaching basketball to spend it preparing unit outlines for all activities.

For Jim and the other members of the department, the opportunity to coaching gave them an outlet to exercise their own control over a situation in a more complete form. The selection of a group of students with an above average skill level, whose conformity to disciplinary, attitudinal and responsibility demands was high, came close to ideal conditions for the coaching staff. Coaches enjoyed the prospect of exercising their authority, knowledge and experience over an easily controllable group and, at the same time, meeting the expectations of the school's administration and student body.

To a considerable extent all teachers who fulfilled the role of coach would seem to be also fulfilling a number of personal needs and ambitions. To be hired as a teacher whose job description defines clearly such responsibilities as classroom contact hours, is not consistent with the extra curricular activities which teachers bring upon themselves as coaches of an interscholastic team. Subject teacher and interscholastic coach are two roles which are often taken by physical education teachers and as such deserve special analysis. The conflict between coach and teacher will be taken up in the next chapter.

Summary

In summary, it is important to reassert that this chapter has attempted to explore how the physical education teachers perform their tasks by incorporating a

"biographically - constituted knowledge" into their teaching perspective in order to align with the institutional ethos. By observing the spatial-temporal restraints placed upon the organizational structure of the physical education programme, it has suggested that physical education teachers have unusual difficulties with which to cope. In their attempt to avoid conflict over student tardiness, physical education teachers made special efforts to operate a smooth running programme.

In addition, physical education teachers met with unusual amounts of suspicion about the value of physical activities being offered, with the result that Jim, as head of department, performed a "rhetoric of legitimation" in order to protect the credibility of this department and its teachers.

Finally, it was shown that while physical education teachers operated under such constraints and with a constant threat to legitimation, they nevertheless attempted to seek fulfillment from areas of apparent responsibility over which they could attain a great amount of control. However, the involvement was usually confined to school sports and as a school coach and school teacher certain conflicts seem bound to arise.

CHAPTER IX
EXPECTANCIES AS COACH AND TEACHER

Introduction

Most administrators and the epistemic community in general agree, without providing specific objectives, that the interscholastic sports offered by schools is an important facet of school life. Moreover in a recent survey completed for the Separate School Board, (Smith and Johns:1978) the data and opinions of the epistemic community came out in favour of athletics in schools in spite of the financial burden placed on school budgets.

A value system shared by participants, school administration and school coaches is supported by parents who feel that school is the place to provide a worthy participatory experience in physical activity. The value system is in general, ill defined, but a substantial amount of understanding seems to prevail as to the merit of sports at the high school level. When coaches are asked about objectives of interscholastic sports, their answers, although varied, have some general commonalities running through them. Such remarks as:

"They play to have fun."

or

"I would like to think we are talking in terms of physical fitness . . . play and fun . . . and some carry over."

or

"There's an opportunity to teach loyalty, cooperation, self confidence etc."

deal with the personal development of the individual with, in some cases, the social being in mind. Numerous other contributions are thought to be the result of participation in sports at the high school level so much so, that many are impressed by the contribution made by sport to the individual social development of the student.

Emergence of Expectancies

The reliance on the interscholastic programme has seemingly brought about a number of emerging expectancies evolving from such beliefs as stated above and by the traditions of yearly schedules which force the meeting of personal and institutional obligations. Each year assumptions are made which take for granted that once again teachers will become coaches and an improved organization will produce yet another group of student athletes who will bring honour to the school.

Teachers, who became physical education teachers, are automatically assigned the job of coaching sports in which they are expected to have a superior knowledge. As far as the principal at St. Ignatius was concerned:

. . . A person can burn out, I suppose, because it takes a lot of time. On the other hand I feel if they like the sport, you know they shouldn't get into it, if they don't like it, . . . So the physical education teacher just doesn't want to do a job he wants to do a good job.

Doing the job involves the teacher not only during the school day but also on weekends and the numerous odd hours of practice each week. The sports programmes were organized, especially at St. Ignatius, on a very professional basis. Teacher's who forwarded their interests to Jim Freeman were given the opportunity to share in the development of a philosophy of athletics. The alignment and blending of athletic endeavours with the school's religious ethics demanded the formation of a structure through which a philosophy was nurtured. School athletics provided the opportunities for such social structures as group cooperation, individual responsibility, testing, etc., to evolve and be utilized toward building an understanding of why sports and games are played, besides the obvious values of fun, fitness and fundamentals.

Out of such social strivings emerged the recognition, or perhaps an acceptance, that sports can and do have numerous worthwhile contributions to make towards the individual development of the student. The idea also arose, it would seem, that since the contribution has been evident in the past that there is no reason to believe it cannot be made again at present. The coaching staff is recognized as a group of individuals who are responsible for that contribution and have traditionally been expected to fulfill that requirement. There is an "expectancy" and the reason for its presence would seem to be because of a

"they-have-always-done-it" attitude.

The expectancy not only calls for regularity but, again in an unstated way, seems to also call for a certain standard of performance which, on the one hand calls for a professional approach yet, on the other, is a fun activity. For example, a rationalized approach, based on quasi-scientific principles, is employed in the preparation of basketball and football teams. The game became an opportunity to demonstrate a serious attempt to maintain high standards and pressure mounted as teams met on the court or on the football field before matches. However, the result, either a win or loss, was of little consequence. Afterall, the game was played primarily for fun and valiant efforts, and the worthiness of good sportmanship were deemed more important than the consequence of a contest. "The win is a bonus, it's fun playing football, but it is a lot more fun if you are winning."

If one attempts to define the characteristics of the types of expectancies which surround the interscholastic athletic organization, definitions would seem to suggest that coaches are expected to produce a school team which would credit the name of the school. Winning would be an added feature. If that was not forthcoming, then, through the medium of athletics, students should receive the numerous intrinsic values which athletics are believed to foster.

All values are obviously socially constructed, and the

suggestion being made here is that expectations are also socially constructed. The generation of such socially based ideas came from physical education teachers who felt the need to justify the existence of athletics as a viable medium through which "extrinsic" as well as "intrinsic values" could be developed. In addition to this common anxiety, physical education teachers and coaches felt the need to expose the sincerity of their efforts through extreme measures taken in the preparatory stages of sports.

However, in all of the moves towards the security of the interscholastic programme by the physical education staff, no stated requests or job descriptions formalized the rather tenuous position of athletic coaches. Rob Romanuk recognized this at St. Ignatius:

Interviewer. Why do such expectancies follow the physical education staff?

Rob. The expectancies fall heavily on the physical education staff because the whole programme functions on the goodwill of the members of the department.

It would seem from the above statement that the physical education departments have been specially blessed with goodwill, because the position of physical education teacher does not require from the teacher more than the stated number of hours of instruction each day. Further to that, "many activities fall outside a job description, and it is really up to the physical education staff to do the job."

As far as the principal was concerned, he felt that an

intramural programme at St. Ignatius could achieve the same desired ends which the interscholastic teams achieved, but in his position he had "not experienced an intramural programme that was 100%." This would seem to indicate that the administration does not specify the form of achieving desired goals and, furthermore, would entertain the alternatives open to the school in the form of an intramural house league.

The football coach Bill Johnson also addressed the issue of alternative means, and suggested that the medium of outdoor education could easily provide some of the situations that football cherishes as 'crisis training' for students. He also admitted that soccer played at the intramural level could provide many of the lessons which football does, and at a greatly reduced cost.

Teacher Involvement in Interscholastic Athletics

Jim Freeman admitted that the interscholastic athletic involvement for him had been extremely taxing over the years and his work load has seemingly increased. He openly criticized his own intramural programme as "down right poor" and has not felt inclined to improve the situation because it would:

Mean that something else would suffer. . . . I don't think I would get anything out of developing an intramural programme. Well maybe I would if I got my teeth stuck into it but I want to feel good about what I am doing.

Table 3 Subject Areas And Organized Extracurricular Activity

Business/ Commercial	Junior Achievement
Art	Art Displays
Drama	Play Production, Including Set Preparations, Play Reading
Music	Concert Band (Lunch Hours Practices) Jazz Combo (After School Practices)
Religious Studies	Monthly Mass Morning Prayers
Physical Education	Five Major Sports (Seasonal Activities Offered Throughout Academic Year)

Table 4 Staff Involvement In Interscholastic Sport

Interscholastic Sport	Assigned Sport	Minimum Number Of Weeks
Football (Senior)	1. Bill Johnston 2. Fob Romanuk 3. Jim Freeman 4. External Coach 5. External Coach	8
Football (Junior)	1. Steve Benson 2. Alan Edwards 3. External Coach 4. External Coach	8
Basketball (Senior)		
Boys	1. Jim Freeman	16
Girls	2. Hilary Wells	16
Basketball (Junior)		
Boys	1. External Coach	16
Girls	2. External Coach	16
Volley Ball	1. Sue King	10
Swimming	1. Andrea Benson	16
Track & Field	1. Jim Freeman 2. Fob Romanuk 3. Sue King 4. Additional Staff	8
Wrestling	1. Fob Romanuk	8
Field Hockey	1. Hilary Wells	4-5

Organizing an intramural tournament did not have the appeal which interscholastic coaching had. For one thing it did not offer the companionship which coaching a game like football offered. Jim said:

I think I do it because in football I enjoy the companionship of the other coaches, something which you don't get in basketball, soccer or individual sports.

However, during the research year Jim talked of giving up his position as assistant football coach because of the beginning of term commitments as a head of department.

What seemed more consistent with Jim's approach was the expression of his values for the interscholastic programme.

He remarked:

Also, as a teacher you can do more in that situation, (coaching a team) and the results are more obvious than you would ever see in a classroom.

Such results came from an "intensified situation". It is such situations as found in the interscholastic programme that enable physical education teachers and academic teachers to operate under more or less ideal conditions. They are also given the opportunity to put their professional skills into practice.

In fact "professional knowledge in the form of coaching skills become negotiable currency", which is used to negotiate less teaching involvement by offering desired skills to coaching. If the "currency" of skills is invested, the teacher stands to benefit by some increase in preparation time - an investment, which at present, seems to

have diminishing dividends. Lining up coaches in the spring to meet expected student demand was not always an easy task, in fact Jim reported that a soccer team had operated in the school for some time until the coach left. Without the coach the team had no coordinating teacher, a regulation of the school board, and so no soccer was played at the interscholastic level. Nevertheless, Jim, as head of department, took on the role of athletic director and established, with the available coaching staff, an operating programme for the approaching season. Staff members offering their services were encouraged by Jim and he valued the contribution which they made to the school through the encouragement of athletics.

Usually physical education staff received one of the seven blocks free for preparation of their classes and coaching duties. Some physical education staff have been known to have 2 blocks but, all except Jim, were now reduced to one. Hilary, as mentioned previously, was rather disgruntled at losing that extra block and felt compelled to reduce her services to the school by coaching one sport instead of three, as she has previously managed to do.

Two members of the academic staff, Steve Benson and his assistant Alan Edwards, managed the junior football team a job which they have been doing for the past five seasons. They did it because "they like to do that kind of thing". Apart from these two stalwarts, few other staff members engaged in an active leadership role in the athletic area.

Consequently, the bulk of the workload and time spent fell on the physical education staff whose goodwill was taken for granted. It would appear that staff members other than the physical education staff, looked upon the interscholastic programme as a duty to be performed by those most qualified, just as mathematics teachers performed their teaching responsibilities. The attempt at resolving the inequality of time spent by physical education teachers in the coaching field was not forthcoming. However, several teachers seem to be sympathetic to the problems which coaches endured. On the other hand, it was clear that those involved in the coaching area enjoyed their commitments even though they were obliged to undergo some inconveniences and, even, hardships. The season of football was particularly arduous for the coaching staff because during the period of observation inclement weather made practices difficult and, sometimes, impossible because of the amount of water on the field.

Jim Freeman's task as part-time athletic director, coach and general organizer was a particularly demanding job. He felt that the two major areas of concern for him in his present position were first, the preparation and upkeep of the Physical Education 30 programme which presented its own problems and second, his involvement in the interscholastic programme. The gradual reduction of coaching duties over the years indicated the conflict which existed between his willingness and interest in the programme on the one hand, and his lack of capacity in terms of time on the

other. With the same number of hours in his day he had increasingly been extended from teaching in two grades to organizing three, in addition to maintaining and upgrading the interscholastic programme. He recalled:

My father-in-law who was a school administrator said, that once a teacher had made it through the first two years, things would be fine, but I find it almost the opposite. As the years go by I seem to work harder and harder and there still is more and more to do. It seems that no matter how much you do it never gets any better.

Commitment and Conflict

It was difficult to measure in percentages the amount of time devoted to the interscholastic programme especially in the case of Jim, whose preparation times were taken up with a number of issues. The physical education programme and the interscholastic commitment were at times, closely affiliated, and at other times were separated in terms of time committed to their organization. Jim attempted to ensure, however, that the interscholastic programme did not encroach on the school physical education classes. He would not allow interscholastic preparation or organization to "short change" those students who were taking the physical education offerings. At times this was difficult to accomplish as it would have been easy to regard the classes as just "another physical education class". Instead he emphasized:

I have to keep my classes well organized all the time, the classes have got to be a good experience for the students. That's where I spend most of my time in spite of all the things I have to do, and if I ever lose that I am going to wake up one morning

and not want to go to work because I have lost control.

It was easier for Bill and Steve, who were head football coaches of the Senior and Junior football teams respectively, to maintain a clear-cut difference between their responsibilities in the classroom and on the field. Although at the beginning of the season, Bill took advantage of lunch hours and cancelled classes to 'chalk talk' in one of the classrooms.

For the physical education staff, the clarity of definition was not as easy to make, because their duties continuously bordered on athletics. Student athletes were members of their classes, and locker space for students and athletes was always at a premium. Seldom did a day go by in the Fall without requests for lockers being made. New, used and broken equipment was always a concern for Jim whose spare moments were taken up checking such "trivia". He noted:

I really have to watch my class programme and watch that those other things do not encroach on my programme. . . . It is incredible how coaching a football team can interfere with the physical education class. It can ruin the whole organization.

Both responsibilities, for Jim, had to be fulfilled to the best of his abilities, and for him this was a source of conflict. On the one hand, the interscholastic programme was an opportunity to exercise the knowledge and skills which he undoubtedly possessed, under more or less ideal conditions.

In the interscholastic situation you have a kid who is out there for that team, and when we talk about options, that kid is there because he wants to be part of something, and because he likes the sport and all his friends are out there. The attitude is not so much unlike your own (as coach), so you become a unique group of people.

On the other hand, Jim recognized his main responsibility was the teaching of physical education in class time, "because that is what you are paid for . . . if you are not doing that you are in trouble". The sincerity of his efforts were not the results of a threat from the administration, but of a commitment which he was willing to make towards the individual development of his students. He remarked:

I think you are losing touch every time you do not give those students something. I mean teaching physical education. . . . You know when we go over to the pool the kids ask why can't we dive and just flop around? If you let them do that they get bored after a couple days, and they are the ones who suffer. I have taught long enough to know what some of their needs are and I want to try and meet those needs.

The dilemma of being the ideal coach demands an unusual amount of commitment in time and energy. To be a good physical education teacher also requires generous amounts of time and dedication to the responsibility. To do either job is, in some teachers' minds, a demanding position; to attempt both is a most difficult and unfair commitment to be upheld.

Values of Interscholastic Sport

As stated previously in this chapter, teachers recognized the inconvenience of the time and long hours needed to sustain a competitive programme but most assumed it to be a worthwhile and a rewarding experience, so much so that such a commitment to coaching must be worth it.

The principal assumed that teachers in all subjects were there because they enjoyed the content and wanted to be there. "If you don't like it and you're not prepared to give up your own time, don't go into it" was his opinion on commitment. However, Table 3 demonstrates the involvement in extracurricular activities for so-called "academic teachers" in their areas was nonexistent. In this regard the principal appeared to have overlooked the lack of willingness shown by these teachers. Jim reported that out of the large number of academic teachers "They're scrambling to get someone to run the debating club".

The dilemma does not arise from the question of where a physical educator's commitment and interest should be, rather, it arises in the degree of commitment exhibited by the teacher/coach. Probably many more staff would become involved, in a limited way, with the interscholastic sports programme, if they were guaranteed a limited involvement. But, when they saw the degree to which coaches had become involved (Table 4) they felt that it was too great and withdrew their potential contribution.

It may correctly be assumed that coaches are dedicated

to the sports they coach, but such commitment extends beyond the philanthropic tendencies which they may possess. Most coaches expressed personal reasons for coaching besides the extrinsic possibilities which were offered as part of their involvement.

First it may be suggested that from a symbolic interactionist's point of view, a coach could present himself to the immediate or epistemic community as a person whose free time was devoted to the development of team and individual efforts of the gifted students in the school. This position could, (and possibly should) be a paid occupation for a professional in the community at large. However, the coaches felt that the support and general interaction which had been built during school hours was a good foundation on which to build a school community spirit with the use of an interscholastic programme. Rob Romanuk observed:

. . . Basically educating the physical in skills generally and especially in keeping with fitness and also recreation for future life . . . is not really done well enough by the community and therefore becomes the responsibility of the school.

They felt that the extracurricular programme had offered an opportunity for the coach to contribute in a personal way to the development of the school in a worthwhile project. In the case of St. Ignatius the school athletic programme was described in terms of its alignment with the school ethos.

Both Jim Freeman and Steve Benson mentioned their concern with the development of a philosophy of sports which

tied in with the school and its religious ethics. An effort such as this attempted to define an acceptable mode of relaying the school religious ethic through the medium of sports. Such an overt effort not only received the blessing of the school but also legitimized the efforts of the coaches. Most coaches affirmed their philosophy in terms of the values which, according to Steve Benson, addressed the question of winning and playing. It appeared "that playing is to come first, and if the team plays well they may treat a win as a bonus". The philosophy, as considered by the coaching staff, was discussed in general terms and provided the opportunity to develop "intrinsic values" such as the "joy of participation" and the nurturing of personal skills in a game situation. Bill Johnston, the head football coach, expressed the idea of "intrinsic utility" by stating:

A person can achieve personal goals by intense concentration or intense effort which could possibly have some carry over (extrinsic) value to his life in the work world.

Fob agreed with this idea by stating that "sports contribute to the success of the student in the real world by teaching them how to compete fairly". Jim was more precise:

There's an opportunity to teach loyalty, cooperation, self confidence, being able to get along with others, deal with problems. There is no end to those kinds of things - more so than in say mathematics.

The male physical education teachers were confident that the values they were emphasizing were inherent in the games they coached. They were also confident that their

success concerning the instillation of such values was high. Such rhetoric was not as noticeable among the female coaches and teachers of physical education. In conversations with them the researcher was impressed by the lack of rhetoric and the "no-claim" justification for their programs both in school and interschool. Hilary and Sue emphasized that the physical education programme provided a fun, fitness and fundamental approach exposing as many students to physical activity as possible. The interscholastic programme was, according to Hilary, a better opportunity for the athletically gifted:

Certainly skill level is more important where you have more like the honour students of the physical education class . . . it is just development in that whole idea . . . and I think more significant than that is the idea of cooperation as a group. It is in the situation that you learn more about people. Those are the things which you are never going to learn or get out of school work.

However, the interscholastic setting seemed to provide extra opportunities for those students who were athletically gifted and did well in the academic endeavours besides succeeding socially in the life world of the school. On several occasions, Jim had provided an opinion which supported the idea that those who dropped out of physical education were also the same kids who dropped out of most subjects in the school. The students who were permitted into the Physical Education 30 classes were academically gifted and had demonstrated an interest and some ability in sports.

Sue claimed no significant emphasis on the nurturing

and development of values through the medium of interscholastic activities, and she was even doubtful whether the students took the interschool programme seriously enough to develop such values.

We teach and even stress sportsmanship, fair play. We like to see them play their best but . . . I think, they think it's important to play at the superior level, but I don't know if the boys, let alone the girls, have those objectives in this school.

The objectives she referred to were the claims of the football coaches who felt that football was a game situation where students could measure themselves against one another and prepare themselves for the "real life situations".

Sue was doubtful of such claims when she tabulated the results of her team surveys each year. She discovered such responses to the question, "Why do you want to play interscholastic volleyball?" to be:

"We are playing to have fun."

"We are not interested in winning."

"We play because we want to play."

"It is not fun to play with people less skilled than us."

Such responses were sufficiently discerning for Sue who detected that times had changed and the kids of upper middle class backgrounds did not require the games situation to bring meaning to their lives.

Why do teachers coach?

So far in this chapter we have verified that, first, unnamed expectations are felt by certain staff members to introduce or maintain an interschool athletic programme. Second, most sensitive to these expectations are members of the physical education staff who seemingly are unusually generous with the amount of goodwill that they show. Third, male coaches felt that a philosophy of sport developed among themselves could and probably did contribute to the installation of dominant societal values; whereas female coaches were not so emphatic about such claims. Finally, most male and female coaches were of the opinion that the interschool sports setting was more of an ideal setting for the organization, teaching and attraction of highly skilled students.

Besides the above points, it was difficult to draw from those concerned with the interschool programme why they coached and what they derived from it. As already stated, Jim found companionship in coaching with a group of male coaches. Most teachers found a different form of frustration in coaching, but were freed from the usual class problems associated with teaching sports and physical activities to moderately interested and uninterested students. Some were more emphatic than others on the extrinsic utility of sport for young adults. Others were unsure of their role as coach.

Of interest to those who train teachers of physical education or who are teachers themselves would be the

verification of the concerns which were encountered by the physical education staff, in particular its head of department.

As previously stated, the coaching staff at St. Ignatius, (and probably most schools), was composed of all of the physical education staff who, by their goodwill, or whatever, were committed to the coaching and development of student athletes. It has been suggested that this responsibility has developed from the undefined, nebulous series of suggestive pressures which, real or apparent, have a profound affect on all members of a school. Negative action was manifested by most staff in their withdrawal from contributing, but from a small percentage of teaching staff came a positive response to the ill defined expectations.

Opportunities to Meet Professional Obligations

Three proposals are forwarded here which hopefully will address the dilemma of teacher/coach and will also demonstrate that such expectations have been fostered by the proponents of physical education, and can be viewed as real concerns for the physical education teachers.

The physical education programme of North American High Schools has traditionally included sport and the playing of games in a competitive situation as part of its total physical education programme. Indeed, when students of St. Ignatius were asked about physical education they replied, for the most part, in terms of their sporting experiences.

The physical education class in the modern high school especially at the grade 10 level, is a difficult situation for the physical education teacher. Even if he is a skillful teacher willing to develop both the intrinsic and extrinsic values of physical education, he is often frustrated by the large numbers with which he has to deal, the generally poor equipment for some activities, and most important, the heterogeneity of incoming grade 10 students. In physical education, as in other subjects, students ranged from exuberant to unenthusiastic in their attitude. The difficulties with which teachers catered emerged, to some extent, from such diversity.

To live up to professional obligations which teacher training institutions may attempt to instill, becomes, for most physical education teachers, a demanding if not impossible task. Most teachers could not hope to live up to high ideals and objectives which their textbooks on methods and procedures outline in the teaching of physical education. Instead, new goals and objectives are set up by the teachers, whose sights are much lower, in order to cater to the less skilled whose management is virtually impossible. The physical education class then becomes the problem end of a spectrum, having large, instead of small classes. On the other hand, if the classes were much smaller, the already available, high quality instruction could possibly contribute to the education of the individual student. Consequently the physical education teacher works

under a considerable handicap to offer a mediocre programme, where little is understood about its content and still less is recognized as worthwhile by the administration.

One of the alternatives which helps to resolve the alienation of the physical education teacher is to become a coach. Not necessarily does the situation of being an interschool coach fall at the other end of the spectrum to the physical education class, but it may. In the case of most of the physical education staff at St. Ignatius, the coaching situation did fall close to an ideal situation. The numbers selected for teams were of course limited. The athletes were a combination of highly motivated and skilled individuals whose objectives were associated with the values stressed by the coach. The alignment of the coach's expectations and the fulfillment of them by the athletes provided the basis, with the other factors, for a close to ideal situation. The teacher is encouraged by the apparent success he achieves as a result of his own resources as a knowledgeable person, and by the recognition of other staff members whose interest in school teams is stirred at least for a brief period after a game. No teachers were heard to enquire about the success of a particular physical education class, but there was often an inquiry into the progress of certain teams after a weekend tournament or game.

The coach, as opposed to the teacher, was more visible and that role seemed more important. The program was of more consequence in the eyes of the students, staff and

administration. The preparation was thorough, the game was played in seriousness and the results were broadcast to the whole school over a public address system. This was a test of legitimacy which was applied to reinforce the worth of the team and its coach. A professional obligation of demonstrating acquired knowledge of the game was met and the coaches established their legitimation.

Second, physical education institutions for the preparation of teachers of physical education primarily apply most of their attention to development of elitism through the acquisition of coaching skills for elite athletes. Achieving the fastest, most efficient ways of accomplishing physical activities, does not address the issues and problems of teaching heterogeneous groups of students. Furthermore, physical education faculty qualifications do not necessarily include teaching experience as part of the qualification to prepare teachers for the teaching profession. Rather, they emphasize coaching success and/or paper qualifications.

Teacher training institutions especially departments of physical education, may be largely to blame for emphasizing coaching instead of teaching, and the expectation that they will be responsible for part of an interschool programme is fulfilled when they enter a school. They are hired as a teacher, yet are described as a basketball coach or head coach of football, etc. The identity of teacher gets lost in favour of the title "interscholastic coach" and students

address their teachers in those terms.

The schools of the United Kingdom, in general, have forwarded the idea that physical education teachers have definite intrinsic and extrinsic merits to offer. As well, British schools maintain interschool competition in a variety of sports. The emphasis however, is placed on educational goals rather than on a deliberate effort to replicate professional sport. North American school teachers have, on the other hand, seldom differentiated between physical education and interscholastic activities and have coached the meritorious utilities of sport to students primarily through serious competition.

In this regard Jim Freeman may be atypical, in that he endeavoured to develop "intrinsic and extrinsic utility" through the physical education programme as well as attempting to fulfill professional obligations in the coaching area. Thus the posture taken by Jim may indicate the typical ways in which some physical education teachers tend to attempt to meet with the dilemma of expectancies which they possibly bring with them from the teaching institutions and which are nurtured in the school environment.

Jim expressed:

I thought I was pretty well prepared when I left university in terms of teaching and coaching skills and techniques. You know there are too many things happening when you are on the job which you are not aware of at university.

The problems and issues to which Jim referred are often the reasons why teachers rely heavily on the interschool programme for fulfillment.

Finally, the third proposal which attempts to address the source of the teacher/coach dilemma stems from an interrelationship with the previous two propositions. Namely, the normal career pattern expectation is believed to stem from those ideas, values and mores established in the training institution and developed in the school as professional obligations.

Career pattern expectations may be determined by the way the physical education teacher feels he is seen by others. As a successful physical education teacher he may not be visible, however as a high school coach he may be seen not only by his colleagues on the staff but also by the members of the coaching fraternity in other schools. In this case the scrutiny of fellow knowledgeable coaches could be a significant judgement on the coach. To maintain a respectable coaching record would seem to be part of the career pattern of many physical education teachers, the progress of which is dependent upon the approval they receive as coaches from other coaches. To gain approval and eventual respect one would have to make his way through a career, abiding by the norms and values of that particular sport, and demonstrate through the team results that no contest will be easily decided. These points seem to be illustrated by the way coaches at St. Ignatius talked about

"the opposition". The first consideration was always the recent won-lost record, and then who was behind the organization. Jim said of one school during the football season "Well you know they have a new coaching staff this year, and they are considerably weaker than usual". Much of the success in North American sport is attributed to the decision making of the coach rather than the players. It is possible that for this reason school coaches assess not only the team but the coaching staff as well.

However, too much success and strength in a school's organization can be detrimental to career progress, or at least the way one is perceived. This was illustrated by the constant referral to a successful coach in the city whose large school population enabled his rather successful programme to dominate the city and provincial tournaments.

Nevertheless, career patterns emerged among physical education teachers which largely determine what media are available for success and reinforcement in their careers. Success in the teaching of physical education is not unknown in the career patterns of physical educationists, but it is less common in Canada and the United States than it is in the United Kingdom. Being a successful class teacher of physical education can also have its rewards, but in Canada its career pattern is not as discernible or prominent.

Jim Freeman as a new graduate of physical education accepted the responsibilities and role of physical education teacher when he arrived at the school over a decade ago. The

role in those days did not appear to be heavily committed to coaching several teams. Although Jim mentioned the gradual increase of responsibilities grew with the length of his stay at the school, he did not appear to be atypical in this regard. In fact, his interest and increasing involvement seems typical of the expected roles of the physical education teacher.

However, such increased involvement was not without its drawbacks as Jim expressed in his comments on dropping out:

The main reason for dropping out of physical education is that there is too much to do. I would say that the single overall factor is the overinvolvement that teachers have. The extra demands of coaching, intramurals and teaching classes and going to tournaments bury the physical education teacher and he is doing too many things. Not that they have to, mind you, but it is expected of you.

Jim also identified another contributing factor which increases the dilemma of the physical education teacher/coach dichotomy.

. . . A lot of physical education teachers are young and have recently married, and the increased family commitments begin to have a bearing on the problem, sometimes that can be a cop out, but there is no doubt that family life is an added pressure.

Commitments to the school teams and increasing parental and domestic duties become a unique and real issue for physical education teachers with family. Unlike other staff, the physical education teacher who becomes an interschool coach has to arrange a time, usually afterschool and sometimes before school commences, and a location, usually

the school gymnasium, to hold a practice. The game preparation demands that it take place at the gym. On the other hand, the academic teacher can take work home which can be attended to at his leisure. For the coach it often means missing significant family occasions, especially for young children, such as meal and bed times.

This problem becomes acute for female coaches. At St. Ignatius the female coaching and leadership was confined to three women on the staff.¹¹ As mother of 3 boys and 1 girl, Sue King was particularly affected by the coaching responsibility she maintained as volleyball coach during the Fall term. She had made arrangements to coach for that term and at its completion she firmly refused other extracurricular involvements stating that she had fulfilled her requirements as interscholastic coach and that her family commitments were more important than out-of-school activities.

Hilary was not married, and was involved in coaching basketball which started during the first week in December and continued until the end of March. The time involvement required two practices a week and two games which, for any teacher is a heavy commitment, considering that other teachers bearing the identical job description have no extracurricular involvement and receive the same remuneration.

¹¹ The third person was Andrea Benson who trained the swim team.

Applied Pressures

The data identified that there were implicit, clear expectations to which the physical education staff were unusually susceptible and vulnerable. The vulnerability appeared to have stemmed from the "goodwill" which physical education teachers demonstrated as part of their professional obligation. They were susceptible to meeting obligations because of the "pressure packed" nature of the administration's expectations, and because of the real danger that the administration "would be looking around to slide you out and someone else in to do the coaching job".

In order to reduce the conflict of being coerced into the position of interschool coach, most physical education teachers rationalized that even though they worked longer hours than the academic staff they would not change places with them because of the intrinsic rewards. Hilary said "I find there are rewards in spite of the frustrations".

Jim in addressing the question said:

I don't think they put a lot into the school and they get very little in return. I think they are worst off, but you know they say that they wouldn't have our jobs for all the money in the world, but you know I wouldn't change with them either.

All agreed that the opportunity to teach motivated students under ideal conditions, provided an outlet for their interest and skill as teachers.

Nevertheless, the issue still remains as to why such pressure exists to produce interschool athletic teams, while teachers of academic courses such as English, Science and

Mathematics teachers do little or nothing extracurricularly in areas related to their subject. At St. Ignatius a struggle for a debating club existed each year according to Jim, and a science or chess club seems to have had little support in a school which was described by the principal to be academic. In spite of this label, school spirit does not hover around academic endeavours but, instead, a major emphasis is placed on interscholastic activities.¹² "That's all you hear. . . . The intercom announces the game results all the time. They (The Jocks) talk about it all the time."

It would seem that several significant factors can be attributed to the physical education teacher's involvement in an interscholastic athletic programme which on the one hand is a major expectation, but, on the other hand is not considered intrinsically significant.

Teachers expressed their involvement in coaching primarily in terms of their voluntary contribution and what it permitted them as professionals to accomplish. It was looked upon as an opportunity which, especially for physical education teachers, related to their career patterns and the terms under which professional success is measured.

Underlying this view of the interschool athletic programme teachers felt compelled to contribute to the

¹² However, that emphasis cannot be construed to be present in the proportions to which Coleman referred (1961). In spite of its popularity (athletics was singularly the biggest extracurricular activity) the school's academic emphasis was a reminder to students that the most "enduring" value was a good education, and as such continues to support the earlier findings of Friesen (1966, 1967, 1968).

maintenance of the programme, and although many members of staff did not take an active part, members of the physical education department felt threatened by the possibility that the administration could exercise the power to replace those teachers who did not operate a programme in interschool athletics. Whether this action was ever carried out was not substantiated in this study.

Summary

In summary it would appear that certain expectations exist in the High School setting which apparently threaten the physical education staff with removal from the school. However, one can also observe the degrees to which teachers support such expectations. Most staff in physical education demonstrated the significance and the seriousness of the approach to the major sports such as football, basketball and volleyball. Such a task was not to be taken lightly or viewed with any skepticism by other members of the school or epistemic community. The task was viewed by the members themselves as a significant contribution of the coaching staff to the support and verification of the school ethos. Such a process of legitimation has continued to place the interschool programme on a level which may be seen as a major contributing factor to the individual development of the student. In this light the principal and the administration could and did look on the interschool athletic programme as a significant component of the school

system and as such expected those closely related to sport, namely the physical education teachers, to provide strong leadership.

Physical education teachers, in some measure, appeared to have compounded the expectations already present in the school by demonstrating their support for, and gaining success in, various sports. There appeared to be little doubt that teachers considered the coaching assignment as a most important part of their teaching responsibilities. The seriousness of effort was manifested in the rationalization of interschool sport. Elaborate measures were taken in the major sports to insure that the most efficient, best coached team was developed to represent the school in that activity. Football practices were carefully planned by the three coaches before the afternoon practices, while Jim, in the basketball season, timed each drill to establish the format and length of his practices. Some basketball and volleyball practices were scheduled at 7 a.m. before school commenced, while others were held later in the evening.

What may be suggested here is that, although the expectations of the administration may be "power packed" due to the threat of removal for not coaching, teachers of physical education themselves augment those expectations by rationalizing the interscholastic athletic programme. No specifications are laid down relating to the method or success of coaching, however, teachers take it upon themselves to treat the opportunity to coach in a

professional manner. The failure to treat the interschool programme in such a manner would result in a noticeable lack of leadership, where traditionally the school had been well represented, and would ultimately reflect the individual teacher's incompetence or indifference.

The physical education teacher then appears to be caught on the horns of a dilemma. He is considered an expert in certain aspects of school sport yet has little or no control over whether he should exercise that expertise. Also, having little opportunity to use his expertise in the class situation, especially in the first grades of the high school, he finds the opportunity to operate professionally at the interschool sports level. One could also suggest that the expertise which he brings to the coaching of the sport is bestowed upon students who already have benefited from the school programme by responding to the opportunity made available to them through interscholastic sports.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

It will be recalled that the basic approach of this study was to adopt an ethnographic method to gather illustrative material. The study took place over an extended period of time which enabled a systematic investigation and explanation of the role of the physical education teacher and his subject area to take place.

In a study of this nature certain difficulties were inherent and were a source of concern for me. For example, I was often left with the impression that what I was seeing and hearing was only one side of what was perhaps a multi-sided issue. Where a single participant observer examines the life world and the structuring of reality, he can only be in one place at one time gathering empirical data from one source. The impressions formed from the information being received during any interaction may be changed by conversations and interaction with other actors on the same subject.

Reality as described by Denzin (1971, 1978) is negotiated and must be regarded as an object under the influence of those who approach it. The data which was gathered over a year has been reported in the body of this report and must be considered as the impressions both of my informants and myself as we saw the reality of the situation

at that fleeting moment.

It was not a simple matter to report my impressions in a meaningful manner to the reader. However, in spite of the warnings of empirical vagueness, qualitative data produced a considerable number of recurring themes which contributed to a number of propositions. Categories, and eventually concepts emerged and were identified and supported by a number of sociological concepts drawn from the literature.

The "interpretive paradigm" contributed to the analysis and ongoing discussion of the data out of which the chapters were constructed. These chapters were composed of the ethnographic data which served to illustrate the sociological theoretical concepts under which the data was gathered and from which interrelated variables emerged to form the propositional statements discussed later in this chapter.

The attempt to formulate a number of propositions has been made in an effort to summarize the interrelationships of the variables which emerged from the data gathered. The idea was adopted by Strauss et al. who suggested that in order to summarize the extensive material covered, the use of "several general statements . . . presented in propositional form, followed by a brief review of the evidence that supports them" (1964:351) would be both useful and convenient.

I have used the idea in this study expressly for the purpose of summary and not for the purpose of theory

construction. However, it is conceivable that such propositional statements can eventually be used for the purpose of hypothesis testing. Specifically, the adoption of the idea of formulating propositional statements served at least three purposes. First, the statements have attempted to restate the categories used in the investigation and second, they have helped to generate a statement on the interrelated variables discovered during the research. Finally, a review of empirical materials has tended to support such propositions and has, in some cases, addressed the question of how specific instances in the social life of the school may fit into the complex social life of which they are a part (Lukacs:1971).

The chapter will close with an attempt to summarize some of the apparent commonalities which exist between the propositions. Borrowing from Goffman and the conflict theorists, an attempt is made to synthesize the interpretation of the propositional statements as they relate to this study.

A number of questions and issues arose as a result of the study of the role of physical education teachers and their subject. These points are summarized and formulate a short list of substantive and theoretical recommendations which will conclude the study.

Propositional Statements

(1) Teachers through their ideologies and perspectives were influenced by, and in turn influenced, the institutional structures of the school.

As related in an earlier chapter "ideology" as used in this study refers to the broad recognition, definition and implementation of related beliefs, ideas, skills and techniques needed to master the everyday task of teaching. A "teaching perspective" refers to the "operational philosophy" (Strauss:1964) which emerges when social actors confront specific problems in the differing situations of school life.

It was found that the physical education teachers at St. Ignatius had established an ideology in which they were able to function in reasonable accord with the rest of the staff and within the ethos of the school's religious and academic emphasis. Such an ethos emphasized "the mutual respect for each other, and the acceptance of responsibility and mutual trust" (School Handbook:1971). More practically, physical education teachers professed through their instructional classes, cooperation and mutual respect on the playing field and in the gymnasium. In spite of the physical education staff's consistent reference to the existence of such social, religious and moral values in physical education, no attempt was made by them to establish the

presence of such professed attributes. However, the researcher did note the assumptions made by the physical education staff that their programme did more than most courses of study to encourage the practical application of the religious edicts.

The basis for the ideology of the physical education staff at St. Ignatius stemmed from the demand to be accounted for as a normal member of the staff performing a normal task of teaching. Even though the content of the course emphasized practical aspects of the subject area, physical education staff wanted equal recognition for their efforts. Physical education staff based knowledge of their subject at the centre of their ideological principles. However, it was obvious to the observer that the implementation of ideas and beliefs in delivering the knowledge of physical education was a source of considerable frustration. Moreover, in their effort to improve their personal position the staff developed organizational structures in addition to improving the "delivery" of ideas. These structures were in a constant state of flux as new plans were made to adjust and accommodate the various stresses and strains encountered by such a department.

Many of the so-called stresses and strains were self imposed as physical education teachers requested various equipment, facilities and space in which to hold their classes. Minor adjustments were made between physical education teachers in order to accommodate their individual

plans, the aims of the subject area as they related to the school's objectives, and in particular, the religious ethos.

As mentioned previously, the physical education department prided itself in its capabilities of incorporating as a working philosophy, the dominant social and moral values as expressed in the school ethos. No matter how removed the activities were, their inclusion in the programme was justified on the grounds that their contribution to the educational, moral and social development of the student was substantial. The physical education department could be considered to function in close alignment with the school philosophy and ethos, even though its credibility was low compared with the academic courses offered in the school. With such an alignment to consider, physical education staff were mindful of the structures which dominated the institution and established their ideologies accordingly.

The study demonstrated that institutional structures were instrumental in contributing to the formulation of teachers' educational ideologies. In addition, teachers of physical education were compelled to confront the real issues such as the spatial and temporal restrictions imposed upon them by adopting perspectives in order to overcome their difficulties. While such considerations border on a "lower order of beliefs", (Sharp and Green:1975) referred to as teaching perspectives, they did influence the implementation of skills and techniques needed to master

effective teaching styles.

It should be pointed out that the propositional statement under which the school ethos is discussed may in fact be weakened in its generalizability. This is due to the fact that we may not be able to imply that all schools have strong religious ethics which are explicitly built into the school's structural fibre. Many schools do not possess the rich religious heritage which has been established at St. Ignatius. One can only conjecture that subject ideologies do not rely only on a religious ethos for their development and impact. However, in the case of St. Ignatius the religious ethos was closely combined with the educational and social ideals and was deemed appropriate for a predominantly middle class school. The apparent influence on subject areas, especially physical education, was more to highlight than to depart from traditional and well worn middle class values which teachers claimed were encouraged through their teaching.

(2) Teachers construct situations in which they seek control, legitimation and recognition.

How teachers constructed and managed their social reality was, as mentioned previously, one of the centres of focus for the study. Throughout the previous chapters an effort was made to provide day-to-day illustrations of how interaction took place and of what such interaction

comprised. Teachers in the physical education department constructed their reality out of the problems, conflicts and everyday issues with which they were confronted. They all were eager to negotiate their existence provided the outcome was one which would place them in a more advantageous position. Teaching and coaching preferred classes and teams was always a concern to the teachers of physical education and whether it meant negotiating for the same responsibilities or obtaining new classes or teams in the next year was a matter of 'management impression'. The purpose of such a 'front' [was] to define the situation for those who [viewed] the performance, (Bowles and Gintis:1976:97) and the result of such impressions by members of the physical education staff was hopefully to gain positions which they sought to improve their teaching station.

If the outcome of negotiation was a negative one, as in the case of female physical education staff losing a spare preparatory period, effective reprisals were operated. In the example of Hilary Wells who lost a preparatory period, it was the students who would really have suffered because of the threat of no field hockey, and therefore no provision of opportunity for interested girls to participate in that sport.

Although the teacher appeared to have certain rights, certain members of the staff did not appear to have the same privileges as others. In particular, the physical education

staff were expected, according to some members of staff, to organize, coach and generate enthusiasm for interscholastic sport, in spite of the fact that no similar expectations existed among the academic positions. Physical education teachers felt this situation to be a real threat to their career. If they were to refuse services as a school coach they might be forced out of the school to be replaced by a teacher who was willing to devote time to the development of a particular sport. In spite of such pressures it was also found that physical education teachers were responsible in some measure for the expectancies of the administration. Such expectations were fostered by the "goodwill" of the staff.

The vice principal was supportive of the physical education staff and the job they were doing. He was probably correct in his appraisal of the results which the department demonstrated, by saying "it's because of the hours of work which these people put in, that we have such a successful physical education department."

Physical education teachers like most staff members seem to accept the role of interscholastic coach. However, once they have actively coached for some time, they begin to question the legitimacy of their efforts and the time they invest in school sport. It is at this time, when their own personal well being and life styles are being hampered, that coaches realize that their many roles as coach and teacher begin to control their lives to a degree to which they had

not bargained. This situation arose for Jim Freeman who, after 10 years, was beginning to look for ways of reducing his responsibility as a coach in the area of football. During his tenure at the school he had gradually reduced his coaching load from 5 different activities to 3 during the research year. Such gradual negotiation has taken place as Jim viewed the situation in which he found himself. The changes in coaching responsibility did not change suddenly over the years, but were the result of carefully evaluating existing conditions and negotiating for better ones.

The processes of evaluation, adjustment and improving the situation for oneself and others were continuous. Throughout the school year such changes were conceived and developed, and evaluations of on-going units of the programme were produced. Such an alive and critical approach to their own work helped the physical education staff to refine their approaches and install more efficient means with which to run their programmes.

Most probably, Jim Freeman's efforts to control situations were consciously negotiated. However, the immediate effects of the control was more difficult to ascertain, but in observing the results of his efforts it was obvious that the power to control had some bearing on the long term effects.

Besides achieving social control in all of his classes, Physical Education 30 assured him of an easy, manageable class situation. The students were virtually hand picked,

highly motivated and responsive to requests for self discipline. In short the Physical Education 30 class was a model of the type of class which one ideally would want to display.

The development of Physical Education 30 was perhaps the best thing to have happened for physical education teachers over the past few years. It was popular among the those students who had substantial influence in reinforcing the dominant values and attitudes in the school and it was those students who attempted to gain entry into the Physical Education 30 class.

Having gained virtually all control over who should take the course, Jim Freeman was then able to set the course up as a model of the kinds of activities with which physical education deals. Not only were efforts made to legitimize the contents, but they were comparable with other academic courses offered in the school as accepted university entrance credits.

Although the university questioned the course content in the early days of the development of Physical Education 30, most staff at St. Ignatius came to accept the programme as a legitimate endeavour. However, the principal had some doubts that students were taking the courses for the right reasons. He felt that physical education was an opportunity for students to get easy credit and that they used it as such.

That aside, physical education, especially at the upper

end of the student's career, has achieved at least partial recognition as a worthy high school subject. The physical education teaching staff have persisted to maintain high professional standards in their selection, presentation and evaluation of course materials. Jim Freeman, as a head of department, with 10 years experience, employed his "biographically-constituted knowledge" to considerable effect. He was judged to be a strong leader by his example and actions, furthermore, he knew all the staff well and was able to negotiate for the realization of ideas which would improve his own position and that of his students. Such a process contributed to the quest for legitimation and recognition.

The study has interpreted the data from the viewpoint of man the maker and reactor to situation. The physical education teacher is not merely viewed as a passive role taker but also as the maker and negotiator of roles. He is viewed in this study, as previously mentioned, as man in conflict with man-made institutional structures of the school. Such conflict awakens a consciousness of himself and of his situation as it relates to his position of teacher, administrator, and coach in addition to the numerous other roles involved in the life of the physical education teacher.

Numerous other examples of negotiation were observed during the research period and contribute to the impression that the life-world of the school, no matter how stable it

may appear is, in actual fact, in a continuous state of flux. Like the researcher, the actors negotiated the definitions of the situations which were encountered, interpreted their meanings and selected lines of actions which they considered appropriate and which constituted "their relevant symbolic environment" (Denzin:1970:449). Negotiation, it was concluded, played an important part in the social process of the life world of the school.

(3) The degree of involvement in physical education by the staff and students contributed to their perception of the value of the subject area.

The data revealed two groups with definite views of physical education. Those who participated in sports as coaches or players were able to suggest positive contributions which physical education made to the individual. On the other hand, individuals who were not active in sport or were compelled to attend physical education classes were inclined to be unenthusiastic about the subject area, and stated their preferences for other activities.

The student body represented by the "jocks" and the "freaks" displayed direct opposition to each other in their views of the role of physical education. The "freaks", as reported, found little satisfying activity in their grade 10 class and preferred to participate in less traditional

activities not usually associated with a high school physical education programme. "Freaks" rejected the apparent values of the physical education programme because they effected dominant middle class values such as cooperation, sportsmanship, cccourtesy and passivity.

These values were identified by the "jocks" who were able to recall their involvement in school and community sports. The "jocks" supported the inclusion of traditional sports in the physical education programme and were able to articulate the perceived benefits derived from participation in school sport.

Even though the role of physical education was viewed in different ways in the school, few data revealed any obvious disapproval of the purposes physical education served. The principal was of the opinion that physical education had no place in the class setting because in his view it was an easy way to receive credits towards a high school diploma. However, he was still supportive of the physical education programme because it was able to practise many of the Christian virtues extolled by the Catholic religious ethos. In addition, physical education classes enabled the teachers to get to know the students better and to generate a greater rapport with them. The principal also used the interscholastic athletes as examples for the rest of the school. Members of athletic teams were automatically expected to possess and display such Christian virtues as sportsmanship, cooperation, courtesy and passivity, while

holding high profile positions in the life of the school.

Other staff members viewed physical education as playing a more central role in the development of the young adult. Lessons to be learned from physical education and related activities such as sports, were replicas of the labour market into which all students would eventually pour. It would seem paradoxical that the amount of man hours devoted to the physical education and interscholastic programmes is disproportionate to the credibility accredited to it. If, indeed, physical education does contribute to the preparation of students for the labour market, it would seem that the subject area should receive appropriate recognition. Perhaps a realization that physical education contributes to the success of the young adult, not only in the physical education setting but in the real world of work, is confined to a few. As we have noted, the football coach, Bill Johnston, was clear and emphatic about the value of physical education and sport and spoke in terms of direct "carry over" to the work world.

The utility aspect of physical education as a school subject brought a mixed response when informants were asked to define intrinsic and extrinsic values of the subject area. Most teachers and students had never experienced physical education in terms of creating an awareness of self or of inner accomplishment. However, when asked to consider physical education as a contributor to the good of mankind, most subjects were able to identify qualities which

benefited mankind by generally improving the quality of life, both individually and socially.

Jim Freeman was able to identify some qualities of utility in his programme and viewed such physiological changes as fitness improvement to be an inner accomplishment, creating the opportunity for extrinsic values to blossom and mature. This programme, as he viewed it, offered students an introduction and an opportunity to begin a personal evaluation of their life style in terms of their physical and mental abilities to cope with school life. Moreover, he attempted to encourage his students to be sensitive to their life styles.

Jim also clung to the values which were emphasized by the school religious ethos, and attempted to highlight their occurrence in the physical education and sports world. Jim attempted to use the religious emphasis as a code whereby life, whether at home or at school, could be guided. The use of sport to demonstrate their implementation was one of the contributions of his role as physical educator.

(4) Coaching interscholastic sports frees the teacher from institutional restraints, and replaces them with institutionally-created expectancies.

The data gathered led the researcher to the conclusion that physical education teachers were placed in a unique professional dilemma which centered around their

professional interest and expertise on the one hand, and the applied forces manifested in a set of expectancies on the other. The data revealed a well organized group of men and women providing leadership to a group of interested students. It also revealed a lack of consensus (Strauss:1964) among the staff responsible for the organization of games. The surface phenomenon of interscholastic sport appeared to be a successful and viable aspect of the general education of the student, albeit an opportunity in which few were able to partake. However, the deeper structures of the leadership of interscholastics exposed incongruities among the school staff. Some teachers, especially those who taught in the academic subject areas, were found to have few expectancies exerted upon them from the administration, whereas the physical education staff felt that the possibility of losing their job, if they did not coach, was distinct.

Such expectations were believed to have their basis for existence in the traditions of the school. It was the kind of thing which had been done in the past and few found any good reasons why physical education staff should not be expected to continue with such extracurricular activities. Augmenting such expectancies was the self image which physical education teachers developed. Rob Romanuk suggested that physical education teachers have a sense of duty which, for some unstated reason, was not evident in most of the staff in other subject areas.

The expectancies which were faced by the physical education staff were held to be part of the rigid educational structure that had developed over the brief history of St. Ignatius High School. Those teachers who became coaches, for the most part, did not complain about their leadership duties they had willingly volunteered to carry out. What did raise some concern was that fact that the taken-for-granted attitude displayed by the administration left the physical education staff with few alternatives but to show defiance. An example of such a reaction was clearly shown by both female physical education teachers who temporarily refused and, (in Hilary's case), dropped their support of some team sports because of a loss of preparatory time. Jim Freeman spent the year negotiating and expressing a moderate discontent with his responsibility as a football coach. He openly supported the idea of hiring a new teacher who would be able to coach as an assistant football coach. After 10 seasons he felt that he could relinquish such an expectancy.

Yet, it is possible to suggest that physical education teachers enjoyed the prospect of coaching even though it was after school hours. For Jim and the other coaches, the coaching situation provided many unique opportunities not afforded them during their school day. The problems of having to teach large classes of students who were not highly motivated, in often-time inadequate conditions, was greatly relieved by the interschool game situations and

practises. The empirical materials presented in the preceeding chapters hopefully illustrated that Jim as coach was in command of his situation. Once the everyday chores of teaching physical education were over, Jim, like many of the other coaches, entered a situation where highly motivated students were prepared to work towards a unified goal, in more or less ideal conditions.

When such conditions prevailed, coaches felt that they could exert a more complete control than that exerted in the class situation. The outcome to some extent was in their hands, the pressures of school life and the academic dependencies were part of another world left in school time and administrators' offices. At St. Ignatius the coaches were almost the only persons left in the school when the teams began to practise, and were the first to arrive in the mornings for 7 a.m. training. No great interest was taken in the progress and development of a team as they prepared for the season, and no accountability except the game result was necessary.

It was apparent that teachers who became coaches generally enjoyed the opportunity of practising their expertise under conditions which were more ideal than those found in the class situation. In addition, teachers who became coaches temporarily left the world of the school's compulsory education structure for an equally rigid structure based on tradition and expectation.

(5) Physical education like all senior courses in the high school which closely align with the school ethos and dominant societal values, cater to those students who meet criteria based on "sponsorship".

This study has already related how an elective programme, such as that in the high school organization, is only elective in name and only certain categories of students are eligible to elect the courses. In the 30 level courses offered in high schools, teachers protected a self initiated right to teach only those students whom they felt would benefit from the experience of taking their class.

At St. Ignatius, formal examinations were held throughout the school year at intervals just prior to the end of a semester or within a few weeks of the commencement of the second semester. The results of the examinations coupled with term performance helped teachers to decide who they felt would benefit from the experience provided by their course offering. The members of the physical education staff applied a similar criteria to those used by academic teachers in the selection of their students.

After the spring examination period, teachers were particularly careful in their awarding of marks, because it was based on such marks that students could claim or not claim eligibility to elect a particular course. Observations were made in the staffroom which showed teachers arbitrarily setting acceptable levels which they compelled students to

meet before being accepted into an elective course. Such an overt action demonstrated one of the ways in which teachers exerted some control over the type of student who entered the course.

Jim Freeman, as head of physical education, and a female representative were able to compile a list of prospective students whom they deemed acceptable to take Physical Education 30. Counsellors in the school also attended to the planning of students' programmes and together with the physical education staff the classes at the Physical Education 30 level were filled with students who met the criteria deemed appropriate for a university entrance credit course. Certain restrictions were also placed on Physical Education 10 students who were able to elect a Physical Education 20 course at the end of their grade 10 year. However, the controls over entry into those classes were not considered as restrictive as the measures taken to reduce the numbers claiming eligibility to the Physical Education 30 programme.

At the Physical Education 30 level, there were approximately 40 male and 40 female places for prospective students out of a possible 283 in grade 12. Many of these students would not be able to fit physical education into their schedule because of clashes with other subjects, but those students who entered grade 12 and were free to take Physical Education 30 were severely restricted by the measures laid down by the physical education department in

conjunction with the counselling service and the administration.

The operational philosophy exercised by the teachers and administration emphasized the entry of the right kind of student into the 30 level subjects. This was especially clear in the case of physical education. Jim Freeman wanted students who were "good all rounders" whose expertise at sports was accompanied by a good attitude, and of course good grades in their academic work. Jim was particularly sensitive to the possibility of having trouble makers in his classes, an experience he reluctantly lived through during the period under study.

Sue King apologised for the stringent way in which she and Hilary stubbornly refused girls whose likelihood of benefiting from physical education was thought to be minimal. This was accomplished through a series of interviews which were carried out in June. Each prospective girl who wished to enter Physical Education 30 was interviewed and given a list of commitments which the course demanded. The girl took the list home and discussed the 'commitments' with her parents before making a decision. Girls who felt that they could not meet the requirements withdrew their application.

The specific criteria which were met before entry into the physical education programme were not always easy to pin down. First, the student's marks in previous physical education classes were scrutinized, but of more significance

than these marks seem to have been the evaluation of the student's impact on the school. Physical education staff considered such aspects of the student's high school career as self discipline, passivity, athletic interests and involvement in school activities. Such criteria were difficult to measure, yet students who comprehended ways in which their adult leaders viewed them were able to display such criteria to their advantage. Moreover, students from middle class backgrounds were more likely to be able to claim most of these criteria as natural facets of their childhood training. Being active in socially accepted ways is encouraged in middle class homes and is carried over into middle class schools whose teachers cherish and encourage similar demands from the students.

Seeking to develop the 'ideal' student, i.e., one who was well rounded in the ways of a middle class viewpoint, may in fact include less than 40 males and 40 females at St. Ignatius. It was noted that Jim favoured dropping one of the two classes of Physical Education 30 because he felt that there were not enough of the 'right kind' of students to fill two classes. However, in fairness to Jim Freeman, he was expressing a desire to relieve some pressure at the Physical Education 10 level where students wishing to take a full year of physical education were unable to do so. Nevertheless, in order to relieve pressures at one level of the physical education programme, it was necessary to restrict the entry of grade 12 students to 20 males and 20

females at the other end of the system.

No matter which way the programme is viewed a diminishing number of students have access to a regular physical education programme. Furthermore, students who participate in such a programme are examples of "preaching to the converted". The highly organized and well controlled groups of Physical Education 30 students are convincing evidence that a near ideal situation has been created by the staff. Those students whose inability to blend with the dominant socially accepted patterns of behaviour have been excluded and those who remain to participate and enjoy the dominant middle class activities reinforce and refine the behaviour patterns already instilled.

"It is of course problematic to employ evidence from a single case study to support propositions about the workings of education systems in societies like our own" (Sharp and Green:1975:222), nevertheless, the researcher took the assurance of the principal actors in the life-world of the school who all agreed that St. Ignatius was "typical of what goes on in schools." However, it was conceded that such evidence provided more questions than solutions. The questions are raised in such substantive issues as the processes of election of students for such select courses as those just described. Does such a process have any significance on the reproduction of socioeconomic structures? Furthermore, is the educational opportunity already unequal and does such apparent inequality create a

'cooling out system' similar to those suggested by Karabel (1972) in junior colleges in the United States?

It would appear from the data gathered over the research period that sponsorship by teachers on behalf of their students relates closely to the above questions. Teachers expressed concern for their students whose future appeared increasingly uncertain. Teachers appeared to cast off those students who showed no concern for their particular endeavours. It was only those students who fitted the exact mould, of "appropriate social behaviour" similar to the "well rounded" physical education student, who would be given the interest and expertise which teachers selectively offered.

During the early stages of the research period, there was some question as to whether the religious stress of Catholicism detracted from the typicality of St. Ignatius as a school in the education system. But, as the theoretical proposition above suggests, there is a link between the school ethos with its religious emphasis and the dominant society values. While this study does not address, in depth, the question of religion and its relationship to school ethos, there was some attempt to describe and explain how the Catholic religion was adopted by the teachers in such a way that it complimented the general ethos of the school. Added to this was the evidence that physical education best represented the conveyance of religious and moral rhetorics to everyday life through sports and various physical

activities.

It was felt that physical education, more so than other subjects, was able to openly identify, admit and nurture the alliance of school religious and moral values and, at the same time, align closely with the societal values to which the school adhered.

Conclusions

The above statements, set out in propositional form, have synthesized some of the main features of the study. Hopefully they have also captured the daily round of petty contingencies (Goffman:1961:X) and some of the significant relationships which are found in the life world of the school in addition to establishing, albeit tentatively, how the interactions and outcomes relate to the world outside the school. By observing and gathering illustrative materials and then by applying sociological perspectives the study makes the assumption that those involved in the social world of the school are subject to the influences which they themselves generate.

The categories which emerged were viewed, in accordance with Glaser and Strauss (1967), as interdependent variables which, as the study matured, became more complex in their relationship. The propositional statements developed as a result of this complexity were devoted to the explanation of a limited number of phenomena rather than applying Kaplan's "law of the instrument" (1964) which he likens to a small

boy, who, when given a hammer finds that everything he encounters needs pounding.

Instead the propositions can be seen to stress the notion that society is not totally a functionally integrated system. School is hardly representative of the "struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals" (Coser:1958:8). However, some writers have taken this so called critical theory¹³ further by suggesting, as Dahrendorf (1959) does, that the "notion of conflict may exist regardless of the lack of awareness by the parties involved" (Martin and MacDonell:1978:293).

Coser (1956) points out two more features which deserve mention in this final discussion of the data. First, he claims that functional theorists such as Parsons also recognized conflict in the functionally integrated society, but preferred to speak of such conflict as "tensions and strains" which especially in today's society are topical expressions describing the sickness not of society per se, but also of individuals. Parson's (1949a, 1949b) would have us view conflict as a disruptive element in society. Coser maintained however, that disruptive and dysfunctional aspects of conflict are emphasized by functionalists while

¹³ Wilfred B. Martin and Allan J. Macdonell (1978:293) described how structural functionalists viewed conflict in terms of the tensions and strains within the fabric of society. Essentially, it was viewed as the basis of a negative force which formed one of the major social illnesses of our society.

possible positive functions of conflict are de-emphasized by them (1956:20).

The five propositional statements summarizing the analysis of the data serve to contribute to the design of a descriptive 'model' which best explains the data which have been assembled (Becker:1970:407). As the following conclusive remarks suggest, the propositions constructed from a systems point of view may be analysed for their critical theoretical value.

The propositions deal mainly with the continually changing interrelationships which variables seem to have with one another. They also concern themselves with the main actors, in the Goffman sense (1959), where people, as if giving a performance, present themselves and their activities to others in an attempt to guide and control the impressions that others form of them.

The five propositions have common themes running through them which range from negotiation, consensus and commitment to suspicion, conflict and reluctance. The subjects embroiled in the ongoing and everchanging landscape illustrated how the orientations of individuals lend much of their creation to the social forces which they encounter in their every day life. Teachers of physical education seem to be conscious of these social forces which manifest themselves in "them and us" situations and are formed from an audience who demand accountability. Such a demand is made accountable by physical education teachers in the way:

1. They seem to sense a need to "justify" their subject area for fear that others may view it as "nonacademic" and therefore of no value.
2. They face unique operational problems which act against their attempts to run an effective programme.
3. They employ a means of self protection, where possible, to ensure full control of the situation, which acts also as a method of demonstrating their effectiveness as teachers.
4. They exercise their professionally developed skills most effectively in extracurricular activities, which are imposed through a measure of expectancy.

Physical education teachers encountered a continuous need to "define situations" (Goffman:1959:238) in matters concerning the desire to control (proposition #(2)), the part which is played by the teacher in selecting students for the appropriate classes (proposition #(5)), the teaching and coaching dilemmas (proposition #(4)) and the alignment of ideology and school ethos (proposition #1). Their audience invariably seemed to be the authority figures of the administration who represented the school, and ultimately the schoolboard, and all those who demonstrated a misunderstanding of the purpose of physical education. The presentation of self (e.g., Jim Freeman) took on a well planned and rehearsed pattern which had developed over the years. The key to Jim Freeman's success was to present

oneself and to define the situation to others as he would have them see it. This was a difficult task for the head of the physical education department. Jim Freeman had, over the years, selected individuals whose response to social forces had undergone sufficient socialization to align with his own. Consequently he was joined by select members who were loyal, disciplined, and beyond circumspect. His main concern however, was the selection of an audience which was "tactful" (Goffman:1959:239). This task was not always easy and to "win" administration and academic teachers over was a situation which Jim Freeman and others were forced to define clearly for themselves before embarking on negotiations with them. We have noted that Jim knew the staff well and knew how good his chances were at succeeding in any intended negotiation.

The data revealed that physical education teachers felt unfairly treated. This injustice manifested itself in the way they viewed themselves in relation to other teachers and administration. Such a perspective did appear at times to be the malaise of the school establishment, with conflict as its basis.

Sustained conflicts (i.e., the issues of the timetable in regard to physical education) over the research period seemed to be no closer to being resolved than they were when they first arose. Such conflicts, however, often served to raise the level of consciousness on critical questions and to seek ways of reducing tensions within the department and

throughout the staff. As Dahrenhorf (1959) pointed out, conflict, although perceived as dysfunctional, may possibly possess positive attributes which need to be considered. For example if one considers conflict to exist in the physical education department of high schools such as St. Ignatius, it is conceivable that such conflict is the cause of changing interrelations between and within departments of high schools. Furthermore, the actors at St. Ignatius considered changes already made to be improvements not only to the functioning of their programme but to their own position as teachers. Conflict performed the role of catalyst in bringing members of the staff face to face with problems which arose in the running of a physical education programme. Jim Freeman, as the head of department perceived the "strains and tensions" in his relationship with the principal and other staff members, strains which he had probably created by his requests. However, over the years more deep rooted conflicts were brought to the awareness of teachers by way of a system of unequal distribution of prestige and rewards. These were substantiated in such ideas as high status and low status content and stigmas related to academic and vocational subjects.

At St. Ignatius conflict arose as a result of the emphasis placed on the academic and religious thrust of the school. Students who, along with most teachers, were well socialized to accept the values, beliefs and norms of the school, found a substantial amount of security in announcing

the school to be "academic." However, to students whose academic career was not a successful one, the school was a most unsuitable institution. Religious ethics had, over the years, been closely aligned with academic endeavours and although non academic areas were industriously pursued, they were noticeably of low priority in the eyes of the administration. In spite of Jim Freeman's endeavours to enlighten the principal, he felt more protected in being accountable in terms of academic success than in peripheral activities which did not strictly adhere to a classroom format. The sustained conflict between the administration and physical education staff was deep-rooted in the dichotomous educational ideologies which both sides expressed. For the principal, a set of rigid traditional educational structures met the demands of society in teaching those few students the necessary tools which would assure them success in the years after school. Physical education professed a similar ideology which carefully aligned with that of the school, so much so, that when efforts of integration and alignment of physical education content were made and not convincingly accepted by the administration, the basis for conflict was laid. Staff were unsure of their leadership and expressed such feelings while continuing their search for legitimation, and recognition. Whatever it took to convince the principal and others on the staff that physical education and other activities were valuable contributions, seemed to them to be unattainable.

Jim Freeman admitted partial success at least, but other members of staff felt that more support could have come from an administration whom they believed to possess the considerable power to bless or condemn any activity they wished.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were formulated from a number of questions and issues which arose during the research project.

1. The ethnographic approach utilized in this study produced a substantial amount of data which was eventually formulated into a number of propositional statements. The purpose of these statements was not to expressly generate theory, but to summarize the study. However, these propositional statements could be adopted in a more traditional design to verify certain aspects of the role of the physical education teacher.
2. From the experience of this study it is recommended that similar studies in larger schools should employ a "team approach" to investigate the everyday and subjective aspects of teachers. Such a strategy would produce an on-going validation of the data in addition to sensitizing researchers to the problems of prolonged field work.
3. A study similar to Becker's "Boys in White" (1961) could be addressed to the developing physical education

teacher in training establishments. A case study using an ethnographical approach would seem to have considerable merit in exposing the structuring of contemporary professional preparation.

4. The substantive material presented in this thesis revealed numerous issues involved in the everyday life of the teacher. Furthermore, these substantive issues bore heavily on the teaching effectiveness of those involved. On the basis of this study, it is recommended that university physical education and education students be introduced to the school environment earlier in their training programmes.

Furthermore, it is recommended that these students be provided with several opportunities to work in schools in conjunction with teachers and university faculty member in order to acquire a participatory experience upon which they can reflect. Such an experience would assist the student in his professional preparation by placing his technical expertise "in context" of the environment in which it is to be practised.

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